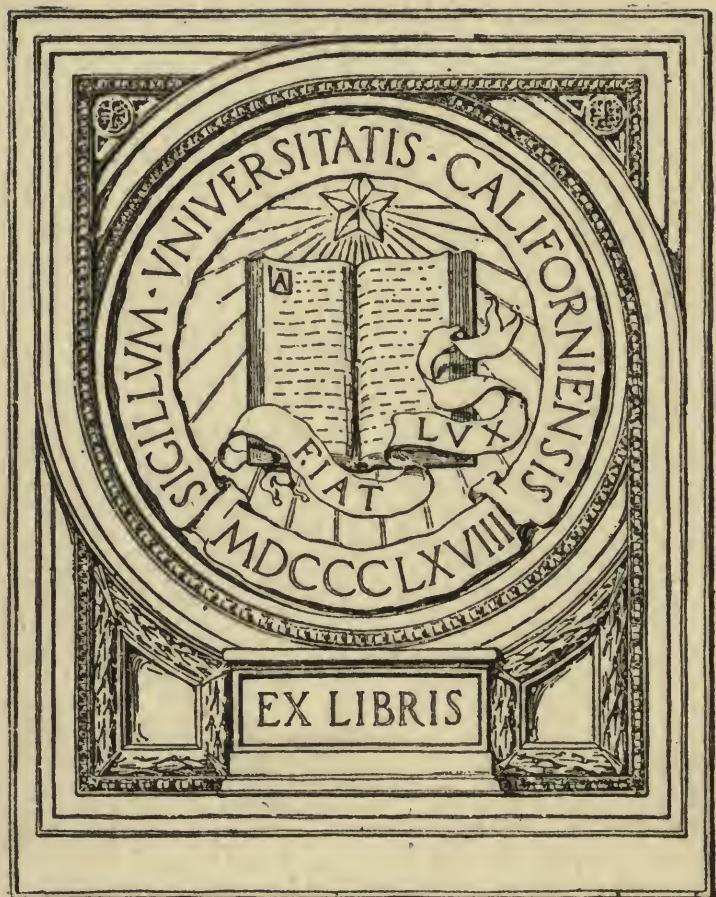


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HISTORICAL PRIMER
OF
FRENCH PHONETICS

BRITTAIN

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

HISTORICAL PRIMER

OF

FRENCH PHONETICS

AND INFLECTION

BY

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WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY

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EDITOR OF BRACHET'S HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS little book of phonetics is intended to serve as a historical primer, introductory to my enlarged edition of Brachet's *Historical French Grammar*¹. The want of some such elementary book has long been felt by English students. The scheme of the *Historical French Grammar* made it impracticable to detach the phonetic section of that work and issue it separately. It was, therefore, considered advisable to supply an independent book on the subject, which, while complete in itself, should serve as an introductory primer to the larger work. It is hoped that the present handbook may meet this want.

The *Primer* is written on the same historical principles as the *Grammar*; and care has been taken to preserve as far as possible the same terminology, so that the student may pass from one book to the other without risk of being confused by conflicting

¹ *Historical Grammar of the French Language*, from the French of Auguste Brachet. Rewritten and enlarged by Paget Toynbee M.A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1896.

systems of nomenclature. A few chapters have been appended on inflection, which will be found useful by the beginner; and a full index has been provided, in two divisions, on the same plan as the index to the enlarged edition of the *Grammar*.

It was originally intended that the preparation of this handbook should be undertaken by myself. A press of other work, however, having compelled me to abandon my intention, the task, at my suggestion, was entrusted to the hands of Miss M. S. Brittain. Miss Brittain's practical experience in teaching has enabled her to remedy several defects and deficiencies which have been noted in the phonetic section of the *Grammar*; and, at the same time, she has had the advantage of being able to introduce such modifications as have been called for by the advance of the science of phonetics during the four years which have elapsed since the publication of my own work.

By their issue of a series of books on French philology, comprising *Specimens of Old French*¹, the revised edition of Brachet's *Historical French Grammar*, and the present *Historical Primer of French Phonetics*, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have

¹ *Specimens of Old French (IX-XV Centuries)*. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By Paget Toynbee, M.A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

done much to remove a long-standing reproach against English scholarship. It is to be hoped that the facilities thus afforded may serve to attract an increasing number of students to a branch of study which has hitherto been somewhat neglected in this country.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

July, 1900.

* * * Miss Brittain desires to acknowledge her obligations to the following works in particular, among others of which she has availed herself, viz. Meyer-Lükbe's *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*; Schwan's *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*; Suchier's *Altfranzösische Grammatik*; and Darmesteter's *Cours de grammaire historique*.

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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The sign > means ‘becomes.’

The sign < means ‘comes from.’

Short vowels are denoted by the sign ˘.

Long vowels by ˉ.

A point under a vowel (e) denotes that it is closed.

The sign , (e) that it is open.

Nasal vowels are denoted by the sign ~.

The principal accent is denoted by an acute accent.

The secondary accent by a grave (vèritátem).

l' = l mouillée; n' = n mouillée.

Vulgar Latin and hypothetical forms are marked by an asterisk.

In the second part, Old French inflectional forms now disused are marked by a dagger.

Brackets enclosing a letter or letters in a Latin word denote that the enclosed became mute in Vulgar Latin or Romance.

Brackets enclosing a letter in a French word mean that the letter did not exist in the oldest French form of the word, but was added later by analogy or in imitation of the Latin spelling.

O. F. = Old French; V. L. = Vulgar Latin.

N.B.—The Latin words have generally been given in their Classical form, as being already familiar to the student; there will be no difficulty in most cases in deducing the Vulgar Latin form, and, where it differed much from the Classical, both have been given.

The notes and the paragraphs marked with an asterisk may be omitted on the first reading.

INTRODUCTION

FRENCH belongs to the group of modern European tongues known as the Romance languages, which have developed out of Latin. The group includes Spanish and Portuguese, French and Provençal, Italian, Wallachian or Roumanian, and Rhaetic or Ladin (spoken in the Grisons in Switzerland, and in the western part of the Tyrol).

These languages developed, not out of literary Latin as we find it in the Classical writers, but out of the popular spoken language ('sermo rusticus' or 'vulgaris') known as Vulgar Latin. The two, literary and popular Latin, were originally the same; but, whereas the literary Latin was artificially preserved, with little or no change, by the Roman writers and grammarians, the popular Latin, like every spoken language, was in constant process of change, so that the two deviated more and more with the lapse of time. It was this Vulgar Latin which was carried by the Roman conquests into the various provinces forming the Empire, and which supplanted the native tongues of the inhabitants of those provinces; it is thus the source to which we must trace back the modern Romance languages.

The difficulty lies in the fact that Vulgar Latin, being purely a spoken language, has not been preserved for us by any literary monuments. But there are certain sources of evidence to which we can have recourse:—

1. Words and forms mentioned as belonging to the popular

speech by Latin rhetoricians, grammarians, or compilers of glossaries.

2. Inscriptions, written by more or less illiterate men, and showing unclassical forms.

3. Deviations from Classical Latin which are found in Low Latin, that is, the degenerate literary Latin of the fifth or sixth centuries, greatly corrupted by the influence of the spoken Latin.

4. Above all, a comparison of the Romance languages ; such peculiarities as are common to all or several of them, and do not derive from Classical Latin, may be justly inferred to belong to their common stock, Vulgar Latin.

We are thus enabled to form a fairly accurate idea of the characteristic differences between Vulgar and Classical Latin. The vocabulary of the vulgar tongue was considerably poorer than that of the literary language ; it was deficient especially in abstract and philosophical terms. The following peculiarities are of frequent occurrence :—

1. Words change their meaning. Thus *hostis*, originally meaning a stranger, then an enemy, comes to mean an army ; compare the Old French *ost*, borrowed in English *host* ; *necare*, originally to slay, then to drown (*noyer*) ; *senior*, originally elder, then lord (*sire*, *sieur*, *seigneur*).

2. Simple words are replaced by derivatives : e. g. *sol* by *soliculus* (*soleil*), *avis* by *avicellus* (*oiseau*). (Compare in Modern French the supplanting of *seoir* by *asseoir*, of *emplir* by *remplir*, of O. F. *aloue* by *alouette* ; and the tendency in the spoken language at the present day to replace *entrer* by *rentrer*.)

3. Adjectives are used as nouns ; e. g. *diurnus* (*jour*), *hibernus* (*hiver*), *hospitalis* (*hôtel*).

4. Classical Latin words are replaced by others which either are not found in Classical Latin or are found with

different meanings ; e. g. **urbs** by **civitas** (*cité*), **villa** (*ville*) ; **domus** by **casa** (*chez*), orig. a hut, by **mansio** (*maison*), orig. night-quarters, or by **hospitalis** ; **equus** by **caballus** (*cheval*), orig. draught-horse, or by **paraveredus** (*palefroi*) ; **magnus** by **grandis** ; **jubeo** by **ordinare** ; **edere** by **manducare** (*manger*), orig. to chew ; **caput** by **testa** (*tête*), orig. tile.

As in the other provinces of the Empire, so too in Gaul this Vulgar Latin language was adopted by the native race, so that they completely lost their mother-tongue. Not only did they cease to speak Celtic, but only the very slightest influence of their old language can be traced in the one they adopted. The French pronunciation of *u* (e. g. in *lune*, *mur*, &c.) is generally ascribed to Celtic influence (cf. § 28). To the same cause is attributed the peculiar development of certain words : **articulus** became *orteil*, influenced by Celtic *ordega* (cf. § 59), **gladius** > *glaive*, influenced by *cladivo* (cf. § 97. 3), **tremere** > *craindre*, influenced by *cretin* (cf. §§ 78, 82). Moreover, there are found in the oldest French a few Celtic words, e. g. *alouette*, *cervoise*, *lieue*, *maint*, *chemin*, *braie*, *petit*, *bec*, *dru*, *jambe*, &c. ; but the number is small.

Even while the Roman empire lasted, there arose slight differences in the Vulgar Latin spoken in the various provinces, just as we see them arise nowadays in English as spoken in the lands colonized by Englishmen, for instance America or Australia. Yet as long as the provinces were united as parts of the Empire under a common government, the differences must have been slight. The grammar and syntax remained uniform ; the vocabulary was somewhat different, being influenced in the various provinces by the neighbouring non-Latin languages, or by the original language of the inhabitants ; the pronunciation probably deviated considerably. But when the Empire broke up in consequence of the barbarian invasions, and the provinces

were thus isolated, the common language began to undergo divergent developments in the different provinces, so that the epoch of the dissolution of the Empire, the 5th century, is generally regarded as the starting-point of Romance as distinguished from Vulgar Latin.

The German conquest of Gaul began to be accomplished in the 5th century, chiefly by the tribes called Franks, who have since given their name to the country. The Franks, like the Gauls before them, gave up their own language, and adopted the tongue they found spoken in Gaul. They introduced, however, into it a considerable number of their own words, e.g. *werra* (*guerre*), *helm* (*heaume*), *halsberg* (*hauberc*), *maraskalk* (*maréchal*), *kausjan* (*choisir*), *warjan* (*guérir*), *hatjan* (*hair*), *waidanjan* (*gagner*), *laubja* (*loge*), *warnjan* (*garnir*), &c. From the time of the German conquest the Vulgar Latin of Gaul changed rapidly and extensively. The first monument of the French language dates from the 9th century; during these four centuries, from the 5th to the 9th (often called the ‘Gallo-Roman period’ of the language), Vulgar Latin is transformed in the north of Gaul into French. It is during this period that many of the accented vowels become diphthongs (cf. § 20); that the consonants in certain positions are weakened or lost (cf. § 86); that the Latin final vowels fall off (cf. § 54). We possess no written records of the language at this time. There are extant from the 8th century certain glossaries (‘Glosses of Reichenau and Cassel’) which give the Romance equivalents of some Latin and German words. But the earliest specimen of the French language which has come down to us is the celebrated ‘Oaths of Strasburg’ taken in 842 by two Carolingian princes, Charles the Bald and Louis the German. Each of the contracting parties took an oath in the language known to the followers of the other, Charles

in German and Louis in French, and another oath was taken by each army in its own language. The French and German texts have both been preserved for us in the Latin history of Nithard¹.

In the south of Gaul, there developed another Romance idiom, Provençal, formerly often called the 'Langue d'oc' in contradistinction to French or 'Langue d'oïl,' *oc* and *oïl* being the words for 'yes' in the two languages. The geographical limit between French and Provençal would, roughly speaking, be a line starting from the estuary of the Gironde, passing by Angoulême, Lyons, Chambéry, to the Alps. Each of the two languages varied almost from village to village, forming an almost infinite variety of patois; gradually some of these patois gained from various causes a certain superiority over the neighbouring ones, and rose to the dignity of literary dialects. To give a precise delimitation of these dialects would be impossible, as everywhere the dialectal peculiarities overlap each other, and any division must be more or less arbitrary. In the centre of the domain of the Langue d'oïl is the dialect of the Île de France (sometimes called 'francien'). North of the Île de France dialect is the Picard. To the west is Norman, which was carried to England and there underwent a special development as Anglo-Norman. South of Norman are the dialects of Anjou and Maine; and further south those of Poitou and Saintonge, which have a strong relationship to Provençal. The eastern dialects are the Walloon (in Belgium), the dialects of Lorraine, of Burgundy and of Champagne. To the south-east of the Langue d'oïl, in Southern Franche-Comté, the district of Lyons, part of Switzerland, and Savoy, is a group of dialects generally known as Franco-Provençal, having affinities with both French and Provençal. Of these

¹ See Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French*, pp. 1-2, 383-4.

INTRODUCTION

dialects, those which had the richest literature during the Middle Ages were the Norman, Picard, and Île de France. The dialect which won the predominance was that of the Île de France, chiefly in consequence of political events. In 987 Hugh Capet, Duke of the Île de France, became king; and the history of the extension of the royal power under his descendants is also the history of the extension of their language. In the 12th century it enjoys an undisputed literary pre-eminence; writers from various provinces make an effort to use the language of the Centre, and apologize for their shortcomings in the use of it. From the 13th century it is of universal use in literature, and has even invaded the domain of the Langue d'oc—still in consequence of the extension of the power of the kings of France. At the close of the Middle Ages, it supersedes Latin as the language of justice. By the celebrated Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterets, promulgated in 1539 by Francis I, French was to be the sole language used in the law-courts.

It is therefore this dialect of the Île de France, become the universal language of Modern France, whose development we have to trace; the other dialects will only concern us in so far as they influenced it. It is usual for convenience to divide the history of the language into three periods: Old French, from the 9th to the 14th century; Middle French, from the 14th to the end of the 16th century; and Modern French from the end of the 16th century up to our own day. Middle French is distinguished from Old French by the loss of the old nominative case and other old inflections, by numerous phonetic changes (see e.g. §§ 63, 100, &c.), by the loss of many old words and the formation of new, borrowed from Latin or Greek. Modern French is distinguished from Middle French again by the loss of grammatical forms and of words and by a greater precision of syntax.

PHONETICS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

§ 1. By 'phonetics' we mean the study of sounds and their changes. We are here concerned with the sounds of French and their development from those of Vulgar Latin.

Phonetic changes, being due to natural tendencies of the organs of speech, are mechanical and therefore invariable; that is to say, the same sounds, at a given period and in a given locality, always develop in the same way. Apparent irregularities are due to definite and ascertainable causes. The following are the chief sources of such seeming exceptions.

§ 2. I. Of the Latin-derived words existing in Modern French, not all made a part of the language from Vulgar Latin times. Those that did exist in Vulgar Latin, and continued by an uninterrupted development into French, are called *popular words*, and only these underwent the regular series of phonetic changes which are going to occupy us. Distinguished from these are the *learned words*, borrowed at various periods from literary Latin. These could naturally undergo only such changes as took place later than the epoch at which they were introduced.

into the language (except in so far as they have been modelled on the form of popular words). Some of these came in at a very early period, e. g. the ecclesiastical words *église*, *vierge*, *diable*, *esprit*; others again have been introduced in modern times, and are pure Latin with only the slightest change in the termination, imitated from the changes in popular words, e. g. *orateur*, *patrie*. Many which had developed as popular words were re-introduced from Latin as learned words at a later period; hence arise double forms such as *peser* (popular) and *penser* (learned) from *pensare* (see § 75), or *meuble* (popular) and *mobile* (learned) from *mobilem* (see §§ 10, 26); or the popular form has been supplanted by the learned, as Old French *feoil* by *fidèle* from *fidelem*.

Learned words which came into the language early have often a form which is partly popular; thus in *siecle* from *saeculum* the *ie* is the popular development (see § 22), but the treatment of the termination is not popular, cf. Vulgar Latin *veclum* (Class. *vetulum*) becoming *vieil*.

§ 3. II. Again, many words are found in French which did not properly belong to the dialect of the Île de France. Some are borrowed from neighbouring dialects. Compare, for instance, *foin* from *fenum* with *plein* from *plenum*; the latter is the regular French development, whereas *foin* is the form peculiar to the eastern dialects. Others were borrowed from other Romance languages, at periods when the nations speaking them were in contact with the French; thus numbers of Italian words came in during the Italian wars in the 16th century, and Spanish words during the Spanish wars in the 17th, while Provençal words came in at all times. Thus *figue* from *fica* is Provençal (cf. French *mie* from *mica*); *cavalcade*, from **caballicata*, is Italian, cf. French *chevauchée*. (See also § 83. 2, note.)

§ 4. III. *Analogy*.—The most important class of apparent exceptions to the laws of phonetics are those due to the action of *analogy*. By analogy we mean the natural tendency to make alike in sound words which are associated in the speaker's mind in consequence of a similarity of meaning or of function, or more rarely in consequence of a partial resemblance of sound already existing. The procedure will be best explained by quoting a few examples :

1. Through *similarity of meaning*. *Reddere* becomes *rendre*, through analogy with *prendre* ('give' and 'take' being naturally associated). We still say *je peux*, *nous pouvons*, and similarly older French said phonetically *je trouve*, *nous trouvons*; *je demeure*, *nous demourons* (cf. §§ 26, 59); but in these latter cases the vowel has been made uniform by analogy in all parts of the verb. In the one word we have carried *ou* throughout (*trouve*, *trouvons*), in the other *eu* (*demeure*, *demeurons*). Similarly, *preco* > *prie*, but *precamus* should give *proyons* (cf. §§ 22, 62), yet we say *nous prions* by the analogy of *prie*.

2. Through *similarity of function*. *Sit* gives *soit*, but *habeat* should give *aiet* (§ 55. 1), which however becomes *ait* on the analogy of *soit* (both being the present subj. of auxiliary verbs). The present participle of all verbs now ends in *-ant*, which properly belongs only to the 1st conjugation (from *-antem*).

3. Through *similarity of sound*. *Plico*, *plicamus*, should give *je ploie*, *nous ployons*; on the analogy of *je prie*, *nous proyons* (as in 1) it became in O.F. *je plie*, *nous ployons*. [Hence were formed two verbs : *je plie*, *nous plions*, and *je ploie*, *nous ployons*.]

As will be observed from the above examples, the action of analogy has been especially busy in altering the conjugation of verbs.

§ 5. Under the head of analogical changes must be classed the substitution of one prefix or suffix for another. Thus **exradicare** becomes ***abradicare**, French *arracher*; **sigillum** becomes ***sigellum**, Fr. *sceau*; **baccalarem** gave regularly O.F. *bacheler*, then for *-er* was substituted the more common suffix *-ier* (from *-arius*), hence *bachelier*. Compare also the frequent substitution of the infinitive suffix *-ēre* for *-ere* and vice versa, or *-īre* for either *-ēre* or *-ere*: *sapēre* > ***sapēre** > *savoir*; *ridēre* > ***ridēre** > *rire*; *tenēre* > ***tenire** > *tenir*. Sometimes double forms arose: *placēre* > *plaisir*, ***placēre** > *plaire*, or **currere** > O.F. *courre*, ***currire** > *courir*.

§ 6. The study of the phonetic changes which have taken place in French is rendered more difficult by the fact that the orthography represents the sounds only very imperfectly. There are two principal sources of defective representation of the sound :

1. The orthography represents an older pronunciation ; when the pronunciation changed, the spelling was rarely changed to correspond. Thus the spellings *ai*, *oi*, originally denoted the sounds which they denote in English *aisle*, *boil*, and now denote the sounds *ɛ* or *é* and *wa* (cf. §§ 40, 23).

2. It is etymological : thus we write *cent* < **centum** although the Latin *c* represented the sound *k*, and the pronunciation in French was first *ts*, then *s* ; or we write *pauvre*, like **pauperem**, although the Latin *au* (pronounced like Eng. *ou* in *house*) became *o* in French, and the O.F. spelling was *povre*. In the 15th and 16th centuries, during the epoch of the revival of Classical learning, great numbers of these etymological spellings were introduced by pedants, and many of them still disfigure modern orthography. Thus O.F. wrote properly *tems*, *cors*, *pie*, which we have made *temps*, *corps*, *pied*, in imitation of *tempus*, *corpus*, *pedem*.

In some cases it was not even the correct etymology on which the new orthography was modelled: e.g. O.F. *pois* < **pesum** (Classical **pensum**) was written *poids* on account of an imaginary connexion with **pondus**.

§ 7. Among the peculiarities of modern orthography the following are the most striking:

Consonants. The guttural sounds *k*, *g*, are represented by *c*, *g*, before *a*, *o*, *u*; by *qu*, *gu*, before *e*, *i* (*quel*, *langue*). The sound phonetically represented by *ʒ* (see § 83. 2) is denoted by *g* before *e*, *i* (*gent*, *givre*), by *j* before *a*, *o*, *u* (*jambe*, *joie*, *juin*). The sound *z* (voiced *s*) is written *s* (*rose*), *z* (*onze*), and at the end of a word, where it is only pronounced in *liaison*, frequently *x*¹. The sound *s* (voiceless *s*) is written *s* (*sauf*), *c* (*cerf*), *ç* (*façon*), *ss* (*fasse*), *ti* (*nation*). *l* *mouillée* is denoted by *ll* in the middle of a word (*vaille*), by *il* at the end (*travail*); *n* *mouillée* by *gn* (*soigner*). *n*, *m*, are sometimes consonants (as in *saine*, *femme*), sometimes denote the nasalization of the preceding vowel (as in *saint*, *jambe*, where the *n*, *m*, are not pronounced).

Vowels. Open *e* is written *è* (*mère*), *ê* (*tête*), *e* (*mer*), *ai* (*chantais*, *lait*), *ei* (*reine*). Closed *e* is written *é* (*porté*), *e* (*porter*), *ai* (*portai*). There is no distinction between open and closed *o*, each may be denoted by *o* (*mort*, *pot*), *ô* (*côte*), *au* (*taureau*), *eau* (*beau*). *eu* is denoted by *eu* (*neuf*), *ue* (*cueillir*), *œ* (*œil*), *œu* (*bœuf*). There is no sign for nasal vowels, and the different nasal sounds are represented in various ways. (See § 37.)

¹ *x* was originally a sign used in manuscripts for *us*, e.g. *chevau*s was written *chevax*; then its original value was forgotten, and it was regarded as a substitute for *s*, hence the spelling *chevaux*.

CHAPTER II

THE LATIN VOWELS.—CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

§ 8. THE development of the Latin vowels is conditioned by (1) their accentuation; (2) their position, whether followed by a single consonant or a group of consonants; (3) their quantity; (4) in some cases by the nature of the adjoining consonants.

I. *Accentuation.*

§ 9. All Latin words had one principal stress called the *tonic accent* (which will be denoted by an acute accent), thus **amícus**, **fácere**, **vestiméntum**. This stress fell in dissyllables on the first syllable (**múrus**, **páter**); in words of more than two syllables it fell on the penultimate if it was long (**amícus**, **vestiméntum**); if it was short, on the antepenultimate (**fácere**, **hábitum**).

Those words which had two or more syllables before the tonic had also a *secondary accent* on the first syllable (often called counter-tonic, and denoted by a grave accent), thus : **vèstíméntum**, **dòrmitórium**.

§ 10. Accented (or tonic) syllables are retained in French; unaccented (or atonic) syllables are mostly weakened or lost. The tonic accent in French words is always on the same syllable as in the Latin words from which they are developed; this syllable, in consequence of the loss or weakening to *e*

mute of the syllables following the tonic in the Latin word, is in French the last sonorous syllable. Thus *ámas* > *aimes*, *amáre* > *aimér*, &c.

* § 11. It must, however, be observed that in certain cases the Vulgar Latin accentuation differed from the Classical.

1. In words accented on the antepenultimate having the consonant-group explosive + r after the penultimate syllable the accent is shifted forward :

Class. **íntegrum** > **intégrum** > *entier*
cáthedra > **cathédra** > *chaise*
cólubra > **colúbra** > *couleuvre*
tónitrum > **tonítrum** > *tonnerre*
pálpebra > **palpébra** > *paupière*

2. In words where the accented antepenultimate was an i in hiatus (i. e. immediately followed by another vowel) the accent was likewise shifted forward :

Class. **paríetem** > **parétem** > *paroi*
aviolum > **aviólum** > *aïeul*
lintéolum > **linteólum** > *linceul*

If the accented antepenultimate was u in hiatus, the u is lost and the accent shifted backwards :

Class. **battúere** > *battere* > *battre*
consúere > *cosere* > O.F. *cosdre* > *coudre*

Apart from the cases here mentioned a displacement of the accent is an indication that the word in which it occurs is not of Popular formation, e. g. *esprit* < **spíritum**, *mobile* < **móbilem**.

§ 12. In the case of derivatives formed by a prefix, an apparent change of accent took place : whereas the Classical form sometimes has the accent on the prefix in accordance with the rule given above, the Popular form has the accent

on the stem. But these derivatives were made over again in Vulgar Latin, retaining the accent and form of the simple word unchanged, whereas the Classical derivative frequently alters both. Thus the Classical compound of **nego** with the prefix **re-** was **rénego**, the Popular **renégo**; of **per** and **dedi**: Classical **pérddidi**, Popular **perdédi**; of **re** and **tenet**: Classical **rétinet**, Popular **reténet**; of **dis** and **placet**: Classical **displicit**, Popular **displácer**.

II. *Position.*

§ 13. 1. A vowel is said to be 'in position,' or 'in a closed syllable,' when it is followed by a group of two or more consonants (unless the group consist of an explosive followed by *l*, *r*).

NOTE.—Since vowels in a closed syllable remain without change in French, they are often called *entravées*, or 'blocked.'

2. A vowel is said to be 'free' when it is in an 'open' syllable, that is when it is followed by only one consonant (or by the group explosive + *r*, *l*).

3. A vowel is said to be in hiatus when it is immediately followed by another vowel. In Vulgar Latin the 'hiatus' was removed in various ways : (1) the two adjacent vowels formed a diphthong (see § 32); (2) the former vowel became a consonant (see §§ 57. 2, 71); (3) if two like vowels came together they were contracted to one: **co-operire** > **coperire**, **cooperculum** > **coperculum**, **prehendere** > **prendere**, **cohortem** > **cortem**. In other cases one vowel was lost: **parietem** > **paretem**, Fr. *paroi*; **quietum** > **quetum**, Fr. *coi*; **mortuus** > **mortus**; **battuere** > **battere**; **consuere** > **cosere**, **quattuor** > **quattor**, **duodecim** > **dodecim**, &c.

III. *Quantity.*

§ 14. Classical Latin had five vowels, **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**, of which each could be either long or short. At an early period in Vulgar Latin **i** became **ē** and **u** became **ō** (we find in inscriptions and in Low Latin texts such spellings as *egnis* for *ignis*, *selva* for *silva*, *stodeat* for *studeat*, *cobitum* for *cubitum*). Vulgar Latin had thus **ă**, **ā**; **ě**, **ē**; **ī**; **ō**, **ō**; **ū**. Gradually the quantity of the vowels, with the exception of **a**, influenced their quality or *timbre* in accordance with a general physiological law by which long vowels tend to become closed, short vowels to become open. (Vowels are said to be closed—denoted **ε**, **ο**—or open—denoted **ξ**, **ρ**—according as a narrower or wider passage is left for the air to pass through in pronouncing them; **é** in *fée*, **ô** in *hôte*, are closed; **è** in *père*, **o** in *mort*, are open). Thus **ě**, **ō**, become open in Vulgar Latin, **ē**, **ō**, **ī**, **ū**, become closed; the series of Classical Latin vowels therefore is thus transformed :—

Class. **ă**, **ā**, **ě**, **ē**, **ī**, **ī**, **ō**, **ō**, **ū**, **u**.

Vlg. Lt. **ă**, **ā**, **ɛ̄**, **ē̄**, **ī̄**, **ō̄**, **ō̄**, **ū̄**.

Moreover the Classical Latin diphthongs **ae**, **oe**, become respectively **ɛ̄**, **ē̄** (cf. § 29).

IV. *Influence of adjacent consonants.*

§ 15. The consonants which exert an influence on neighbouring vowels are :

1. The nasals, **n**, **m**.
2. The Vulgar Latin consonant **y**, generally called *yod*, which has various origins :
 - (1) It arises from the Classical Latin consonants **c** (**x**), **g**, in certain positions (see §§ 70, 83, 97, 115), **j**, **di** followed by a vowel, **z**.

(2) It arises from an unaccented i or e in hiatus (see § 71).

This *yod* has in certain positions (which will be noticed in detail in dealing with the consonants) given rise to a so-called 'parasitic' vowel i, which combines with an adjacent vowel to form a diphthong.

In a few rare cases the labials also have exerted an influence, but only on pretonic vowels (see § 61. 2).

CHAPTER III.

TONIC VOWELS

§ 16. WE have seen (§ 14) that the Classical Latin vowels become in Vulgar Latin *a*, *ɛ*, *ɛ̄*, *i*, *ɔ*, *ɔ̄*, *u*. The old quantities were lost, and about the 6th century new distinctions of quantity arose for the tonic vowels. In open syllables (i. e. when followed by a single consonant, cf. § 13) originally short vowels are lengthened; in closed syllables (i. e. when followed by a group of consonants) originally long vowels are shortened; it follows that now every vowel is long in an open syllable (free) and short in a closed syllable (in position). These new quantities decide the subsequent development of the tonic vowels. Short vowels showed no tendency to change: the Vulgar Latin vowels have thus remained without change in French when in position. Long vowels, on the contrary, have a tendency to become diphthongs: Vulgar Latin *free* vowels have therefore often become diphthongs in French.

I. *In position.*

§ 17. As already stated (§ 13), a vowel is said to be ‘in position’ or ‘in a closed syllable,’ or ‘entravée,’ when it is followed by two consonants (unless the first is an explosive and the second *l* or *r*) or by more than two consonants. Thus the tonic vowels in **siccum**, **portam**, **altum**, **ruptam**, **vallem**,

terram, are in position, while those in **amatum**, **amare**, **patrem**, **labrum**, **vitrum**, are free. A vowel not originally in position may come into position when in consequence of the loss of an unaccented vowel two consonants following it come together. Thus already in Vulgar Latin **calidum** became **caldū**, **viridem** became **verde**: and in Gallo-Roman the unaccented penultimate vowel was regularly dropped: **asinum** > **asnu**, **mittere** > **mettre**. In such cases the tonic vowel, unless it had already altered before the consonants came together, is treated like those which were from the beginning in a closed syllable.

§ 18. Vowels in position remain without change in French as they were in Vulgar Latin, except that **o** > *ou*.
Ex. :—

a : **vaccam** > *vache*, **crassum** > *gras*, **arborem** > *arbre*, **caballum** > *cheval*, **flammam** > *flamme*, **cameram** > *chambre*, **viat(i)cum** > *voyage*, **as(i)num** > *âne*, ***rabyem** (= *rabiem*) > *rage*, **glacyem** (= *glaciem*) > *glace*.

ɛ : **septem** > *sept*, **ferrum** > *fer*, **terram** > *terre*, **infernum** > *enfer*, **hibernum** > *hiver*, **bellum** > *bel*, **sep-yam** (*sepiam*) > *sèche*.

NOTE.—*tiers* < *tertium* is probably the Picard form; *niece* < *neptia* has been influenced by the old nominative masculine *nies* < *nepos*, where the e was free.

ɛ (ē, ī) : **mitt(e)re** > *mettre*, **siccum** > *sec*, **vir(i)dem** > *vert*, **illam** > *elle*, **auric(u)lam** > *oreille*, **deb(i)ta** > *dette*, **nit(i)dum** > *net*.

i : **villam** > *ville*, **mille** > *mil*, **scriptum** > *écrit*, **i(n)-s(u)lam** > *île*, **quinque** > *cinq*.

ɔ : **porcum** > *porc*, **fortem** > *fort*, **portam** > *porte*, **corpus** > *corps*, **rot(u)lum** > *rôle*.

o (ō, ū) : *ruptam* > *route*, *guttam* > *goutte*, *cohortem* > **corte* > *cour*, *mol(e)re* > *moudre*, *turrem* > *tour*, *bursam* (= *byrsam*) > *bourse*.

u: *nullum* > *nul*, *pul(i)cem* > *puce*, *fustem* > *fût*, *deus-que* > *jusque*.

* § 19. In one or two cases the tonic vowel had already become a diphthong before it came into 'position' by the loss of the unaccented vowel, e. g. *tepidum* > *tiède*, *pedicūm* > *piège*, *sedicam* > *siege*.

II. Free.

§ 20. It has been said (§ 16) that free vowels all became long probably about the 6th century, and consequently had a tendency to develop into diphthongs. This tendency is common to many languages. Compare in English the modern pronunciation of *i* in *mine*, as a diphthong *ai*, with its pronunciation up till the 15th century, which was the sound it has in *machine*; of *ou* in *house*, now the diphthong *au*, formerly pronounced *ū* like the present *oo* in *good*; or the cockney pronunciation of *ā* in *lady* at the present day; or compare the Middle High German *mīn*, *hūs*, with the modern German *mein*, *haus*. Similarly in French, while *a*, *i*, *u*, are still represented by simple vowels, *ɛ*, *e*, *ɔ*, *ø*, all became diphthongs. Probably, being long, they came first to be pronounced double, *ee*, *ɛɛ*, *oo*, *øø*; then the two elements were differentiated, one part changing slightly, and the diphthongs *ei*, *iɛ*, *ou*, *uø*, arose. These in their further developments will be treated separately. Modern French has no diphthongs, and the old diphthongs have been reduced either to simple vowel-sounds (e. g. *eu*) or to simple vowels preceded by a semi-consonant (*ie*, pronounced *ye*; *oi*, pronounced *wa*).

§ 21. *a* gives *e*: in Old French this was always a closed *e*; now it is open when followed by a consonant which is pronounced :—

amarum > *amer, mare* > *mer, patrem* > *père, *capum* (= *caput*) > *chef, fabam* > *fève, qualem* > *quel, salem* > *sel, trans* > **tras* > *très, amare* > *aimer, amatum* > *aimé, pratum* > *pré*.

For *mal, car*, see § 65; the adjectival ending *-al* from *-alem*, e. g. in *fatal*, is learned.

§ 22. *ɛ* (Class. ě) > *ie*, originally a diphthong, now pronounced as *e* preceded by the semi-vowel *i* (*ye*):—

pedem > *pied, brevem* > *brief, leporem* > *lièvre, heri* > *hier, ferum* > *fier, mel* > *miel, petram* > *pierre*.

§ 23. *ɛ* (Class. ē, ī) > *ei*, which becomes *oi* in the 12th century :—

mē > *moi, crēdit* > *croit, vidēre* > *voir, tēlam* > *toile, mensem* > **mēse* > *mois, fīdem* > *foi, bībere* > *boire, pīlum* > *poil, pīperem* > *poivre, pīrum* > *poire, vīcem* > *fois*.

This *oi* was originally a diphthong *óɪ* as in the English *noise*, but it has undergone great changes. It became next *óe*, still with the stress on the first member of the diphthong; then *oé* in the 13th century with the accent shifted to the *e*; then *oué* (*we*). This is the pronunciation up till the 16th century. But in such words as *prioit, crioit*, the pronunciation *priouët, criouët*, was too difficult, and was simplified in the 16th century to *priet, criët*. This simplification of *ouë* to *ɛ* was extended to the termination of all imperfects and conditionals, and to some other words as well, e. g. *connoître, croie, François*. It was some time, however, before this change of pronunciation was indicated by the spelling: it was first proposed in the 17th century by a lawyer called

Bérain to write the above-cited words *priait*, *connaitre*, *craie*, *Français*, &c.; the change was advocated by Voltaire, and accepted much later by the Academy.

In the words in which this simplification of *ouē* to *e* did not take place the standard pronunciation remained *ouē* during the 17th and 18th centuries. But side by side with it there existed the pronunciation *oua* (*wa*) peculiar to the populace of Paris; since the Revolution *oua* has supplanted *ouē*, hence the modern pronunciation of *toile*, *moi*, *fois*.

NOTE.—A change of suffix took place in *vervēcem* > **berbīcem* > *bretis*, *sorīcem* > **sorīcem* > *souris*.

§ 24. In a few cases where tonic *e* was followed in the final syllable by *i* this *i* influenced the tonic, which becomes *i*.

prehensi > **presī* > *pris*, *fecī* > *fis*, *venī* > *vins*; compare *vin(g)t* < *viginti* (whereas *triginta* > *trente*) and *il* < *illī* (whereas *illam* > *elle*).

§ 25. *i* (Class. *ī*) remains without change:—

Amicum > *ami*, *nidum* > *nid*, *ridere* > *rire*, *ripam* > *rive*, *aprilem* > *avril*, *filius* > *fils*, *scribere* > *écrire*.

NOTE.—*Frigidum*, *glīrem*, became in V. L. *frēgdu*, *glēre*, as if from a short *ī*, hence *froid*, *loir*.

§ 26. *ø* (Class. *ð*) is found in the earliest texts (9th cent.) as *uo*, then becomes *ue*, then *eu*, which is a simple sound since early in the 13th century. Thus *novem* > *nuof* > *nuef* > *neuf*. Similarly:—

operam > *œuvre*, *bovem* > *bœuf*, *soror* > *sœur*, *cor* > *cœur*, **volet* (= *vult*) > *veut*, *filiolum* > *filleul*, *folia* > *feuille*, *dolium* > *deuil*, *oculum* > *œil*.

§ 27. *ø* (Class. *ð*, *ü*) > *ou* (diphthong) > *eu*, likewise a simple sound since early in the 13th century. (Thus *ø*, *ø*,

have both resulted in *eu*, although passing through different intermediate stages.)

florem > *flour* > *fleur*, **dolorem** > *douleur*, **mores** > *mœurs*, **nodum** > *nœud*, **votum** > *vœu*, **peccatorem** > *pécheur*, **plorat** > *pleure*, **gulam** > *gueule*.

NOTE.—*Loup* < *lupum* is dialectal; the Île de France form is *leu*, cf. the place-name *Saint-Leu* < *Sanctum Lupum*.—*Époux* < *spo(n)-sum*, *amour* < *amorem*, *couds* < **coso* < *consuo*, *couve* < *cubat*, have been influenced by words from the same root in which the *o* was not accented: *époux* by *épouser*, *amour* by *amoureux*, *couds*, *couve*, by their infinitives.

§ 28. **ū** (Class. *ū*) > French *u*¹. The Latin *ū* had the same sound as in most European languages, i.e. that of English *oo* in *good*, or French *ou*; and the change from this sound to that of French *u* is often attributed to Celtic influence.

cupam > *cuve*, **murum** > *mur*, **durum** > *dur*, **lunam** > *lune*, **nudum** > *nu*, **plus** > *plus*, **unum** > *un*.

LATIN DIPHTHONGS.

§ 29. Classical Latin had three diphthongs, *oe*, *ae*, *au*. *oe* became in V. L. *e*, and had the same development as *e* coming from *ē*, *ī*: **poenam** > **pēna* > *peine* (cf. § 34).

ae became generally *ɛ*: **caelum** > **cēlu* > *ciel*, **quaero** > **quēro* > *quiers*; but sometimes *e*: **praedam** > **prēda* > *proie*.

§ 30. *au* became *o*: **causam** > *chose*, **aurum** > *or*, **claudere** > *clore*, **pauperem** > O.F. *povre*, now written *pauvre*, **gabatam** > **gauta* > *joue* (*o* from *au* > *ou* when in hiatus).

§ 31. The following table sums up the changes of the Latin free tonic vowels :

¹ Denoted in the following table by *ü* to distinguish it from Latin *u*.

| Classical. | V. L. | French. |
|------------|-------|--------------|
| ă, ā | a | e |
| ě (ae) | ę | ie |
| ē, ī (oe) | ę | ei > oi |
| ī | ı | i |
| ō | ö | uo > ue > eu |
| ō, ū (y) | ö | ou > eu |
| ū | ü | ü |
| au | au | o |

III. In hiatus.

§ 32. Where the tonic vowel was in hiatus with a following vowel, the two combined to form a diphthong (or triphthong) : **Deum** > *dieu*, **Mattheum** > *Matthieu*, **fui** > O.F. *je fui*, **illui* > *lui*, **amavi** > **amai* > *aimai*.

§ 33. In other cases, the tonic came into hiatus with the final vowel at a very early period, in consequence of the loss of a labial or palatal consonant separating them. In such cases also the two vowels have combined. Thus :

fagum (> **fau*) > *fou* (in *fouet*), **paucum** > O.F. *pou* (*peu* is the Picard form), **focum** > *feu*, **jocum** > *jeu*, **locum** > *lieu*, **clavum** > *clou*, **Pictavum** > *Poitou*, **lupum** > *leu*, **traugum** > *trou*, **debui** > O.F. *dui*, **habui** > O.F. *oi*, ***facunt** > *font*, ***habunt** > *ont*.

INFLUENCE OF ADJACENT CONSONANTS ON TONIC VOWEL.

I. The nasals n, m.

§ 34. In *position*, the vowels followed by a nasal remain :
a : **amantem** > *amant*, **plantam** > *plante*, **flammam** > *flamme*, **annum** > *an*, **cam(e)ram** > *chambre*.

ɛ : **ten(e)rum** > *tendre*, **gen(e)rum** > *gendre*, **ventum** > *vent*, **trem(u)lare** > *trembler*.

ə : **fem(i)nam** > *femme*, **sem(i)tarium** > *sentier*, **cin(e)rem** > *cendre*, **subinde** > *souvent*.

o : **pontem** > *pont*, **contra** > *contre*, **tondere** > *tondre*,
longum > *long*, **hom(i)nem** > *homme*.

o : **umbram** > *ombre*, **summam** > *somme*, **ung(u)lum**
> *ongle*, **numerum** > *nombre*.

§ 35. Free vowels followed by a nasal :

a > *ai* : **famem** > *faim*, **lanam** > *laine*, **granum** > *grain*,
manum > *main*, **subitanum** > *soudain*. (See § 40, Note.)

e > *ie* (as before other consonants) : **bene** > *bien*, **tenes**
> *tiens*, **rem** > *rien*.

e > *ei* as before other consonants, but does not undergo the
further change to *oi*: ***alenam** (= *anhelam*) > *haleine*,
venam > *veine*, **plenum** > *plein*, **poenam** > *peine*,
sinum > *sein*.

NOTE.—**fenum** > *foin*, **minus** > *moins*, **minor** > *moindre*, **avenam** > *avoine*: these four words are probably borrowed from the Eastern dialects in which *ei* always became *oi*, even before a nasal. Change of suffix took place in **venenum** > ***venimen** > *venin*.

i > *i* as before other consonants : **spinam** > *épine*, **vinum** >
vin, **linum** > *lin*, **finem** > *fin*, **pinum** > *pin*.

o does not become a diphthong as before other consonants, but remains o : **bonum** > *bon*, **somnum** > *somme*, **homo** > *on*.

o likewise remains o : **donat** > *donne*, **personam** > *personne*,
pavonem > *paon*, **ma(n)sionem** > *maison*, **nomen** >
nom, **coronam** > *couronne*, **sumus** > *sommes*.

u, as before other consonants, remains : **unum** > *un*, **lunam**
> *lune*, **pruna** > *prune*.

§ 36. At an early period the nasal began to act on the preceding vowel, which became 'nasalized'; that is; instead of all the air which is emitted in pronouncing the vowel sound passing through the mouth, part of it passes through the nose, the sound being thereby modified. The nasal vowels are here indicated by the sign ~ written above them.

A and *e* appear to have been nasalized towards the end of the 10th century; *ɛ*, which was pronounced originally as in *moyen*, took, about the second half of the 11th century, the sound of *ã*. The old spelling with *e* was retained in most cases, yet in a few words *a* was substituted in accordance with the new pronunciation; thus *d(e)-intus* > *dans*, *sine* > *sans*, *cingulum* > *sangle*, *linguam* > *langue*, instead of *dens*, *sens*, *cengle*, *lengue*. *O* became nasalized early in the 12th century¹, originally with the sound *ɔ̃*, but since the 17th century *ø̃*. *I* and *u* were apparently not nasalized till the 16th century¹; some time later *i* took the sound of *ɛ̃*, and *u* of *œ̃*. The epochs at which the diphthongs were nasalized cannot be determined with certainty. *Ai*, *ei*, were already nasal in the 11th century; they have taken the sound *ɛ̃*, just as *ai*, *ei*, when not followed by a nasal, have taken the sound *e*. *Ie* became nasal too late to undergo the change of *ɛ̃* to *ã*, and has still the sound *ɛ̃* (preceded by consonantal *i*).

§ 37. Modern French thus possesses four nasal sounds :

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------|---|------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ã</i> | written | { | <i>an (am)</i> | as in <i>dans, ample</i> |
| | | | <i>en (em)</i> | „ <i>dent, temps</i> |
| | | | <i>en (after i, y)</i> | as in <i>bien, moyen</i> |
| <i>ɛ̃</i> | „ | { | <i>in (im)</i> | „ <i>pin, simple</i> |
| | | | <i>ein (eim)</i> | „ <i>peint, Rheims</i> |
| | | | <i>ain (aim)</i> | „ <i>pain, faim</i> |
| <i>œ̃</i> | „ | { | <i>on (om)</i> | „ <i>bon, nombre</i> |
| <i>œ̃</i> | „ | { | <i>eun</i> | „ <i>jeun</i> |
| | | | <i>un (um)</i> | „ <i>un, parfum</i> |

oin, ouin, uin, are pronounced as *ɛ̃* preceded by a semi-vowel.

§ 38. Formerly the vowel was pronounced nasal in all cases where a nasal followed, the nasal at the same time retaining its consonantal sound. At the present day there is a distinction :

1. Where the nasal is *final*, or followed by another consonant, the preceding vowel is nasalized, but the nasal con-

¹ It is certain that *a*, *e*, *ai*, *ei*, were nasalized in the 11th century; the other dates here given are not established quite conclusively, but are in accordance with the most generally received opinion.

sonant has become mute (except, when final, in *liaison*). Thus *plan* is pronounced *plā*, and *plante*, *plāt* (formerly *plān*, *plānte*).

2. Where the nasal is followed by a vowel it retains its sound, and the preceding vowel is not nasalized; thus *plane*, pronounced *plan*, formerly *plāne*.

The older pronunciation is still indicated in some cases by the present orthography. Thus we write *bonne*, *homme*, *pomme*, while pronouncing *bone*, *home*, *pome*; but originally the first *n* or *m* denoted the nasal sound of the vowel, the pronunciation being *bōne*, *hōme*, *pōme*. Moreover the word *femme* is now pronounced *fame*; but *e* could only have taken the sound *a* on being nasalized, and retains it still, though the nasalization is lost.

II. Influence of *yod*.

§ 39. As stated in § 15, Vulgar Latin *y* or 'yod' gave rise to a parasitic *i*, which forms a diphthong with the adjacent vowel.

§ 40. *a* followed by *yod* > *ai*: *plagam* > *plaie*, *magis* > *mais*, *veracum* > *vrai*, *factum* > *fait*, *nascere* > *naître*, *palatium* > *palais*, *sanctum* > *saint*, *major* > *maire*, *radia* > *raie*.

This *ai*, like that arising from *a* before a nasal, was originally a diphthong, sounded as in the English word *aisle*; by the 12th century it has become a simple sound *è* or *é*. It has in some cases been substituted in modern spelling for *e*: *clair* for *cler* < *clarum*, *pair* for *per* < *parem*, *aile* for *ele* < *alam*, *sait* for *set* < *sapit*.

§ 41. Preceded by *yod*, *a* became *ie*. This *ie* still remains in a few words: *chien* < *canem*, *doyen* < *decanum*, *lien* < *ligamen*, *moyen* < *medianum*, *amitié* < *amicitatem*, *moitié* < *medietatem*. But in the majority of cases it has been reduced to *e*: **capum* > *chief* > *chef*, *peccatum* > *pechié* > *péché*, *laxare* > *laissier* > *laisser*.

§ 42. Where a *yod* also followed the *a*, this *ie* + parasitic *i* gave the triphthong *iei*. But in the Île de France triphthongs were simplified by dropping the middle vowel. Thus *iei* > *ii* > *i*: *jacet* > *git*, *Vitriacum* > *Vitry*, *Campiniacum* > *Champigny*.

§ 43. *ø+yod*. *ø* gave the diphthong *ie*, which with parasitic *i* > *iei* > *i*. Thus *lectum* > **løit* > **lieit* > *lit*, *decem* > *dix*, *ebrium* > *ivre*, *pretium* > *prix*, *medium* > *mi*, *pejor* > *pire*.

§ 44. *e+yod*. *e* > *ei* > *oi*, and is not altered by parasitic *i*, which simply combines with the *i* of the diphthong: *legem* > *loi*, *regem* > *roi*, *picem* > *poix*, *tectum* > *toit*, *nigrum* > *noir*, *feriam* > *foire*.

§ 45. Preceded by a *yod*, *ø* gave *iei* > *i*: *mercedem* > *merci*, *ceram* > *cire*, *racemum* > *raisin*, *page(n)sem* > *pays*, *placere* > *plaisir*.

§ 46. *i+yod*. The parasitic *i* simply combines with the *i*: *spicam* > *épi*, *amicum* > *ami*, *dicere* > *dire*.

§ 47. *ø+yod*. *ø* > *ue*, which with parasitic *i* > *uei* > *ui*: *corium* > **cueir* > *cuir*, **nócer* > *nuire*, *noctem* > *nuit*, *octo* > *huit*, *podium* > *puy*, **cóprium* (Class. *cyprium*) > *civire*.

§ 48. *ø+yod* > *oi*: *nucem* > *noix*, *crucem* > *croix*, *vocem* > *voix*, *cognoscere* > *connoistre* > *connaitre*, *pugnum* > *poing*, *cuneum* > *coin*, *testimonium* > *témoin*, *angustia* > *angoisse*.

NOTE.—This *oi* (*øi*), though originally distinct from *oi* (*øi*) arising from tonic *ø*, became, like it, *øe* and had the same subsequent developments: see § 23.

§ 49. *u+yod* > *ui*: *fructum* > *fruit*, *junium* > *juin*, *lucere* > *luire*, *ducere* > *duire*, *buxum* > *buis*.

§ 50. *au+yod* > *oi* (*øi*): *gaudia* > *joie*, *nauseam* > *noise*.

CHAPTER IV

POST-TONIC VOWELS

§ 51. LATIN words which have one syllable after the tonic are called ‘paroxyton,’ e. g. **múrus, amícus, tésta**; those which have two syllables after the tonic are called ‘proparoxyton’ (**fácere, cámaram, dícitis**).

Proparoxyton.

§ 52. The two atonic syllables following the tonic are reduced to one; the penultimate drops out, the final remains as *e*:

legere > *lire*, *facere* > *faire*, *vivere* > *vivre*, *generum* > *gendre*, *asinum* > *âne*, *juvenem* > *jeune*, *hominem* > *homme*, *male-habitum* > *malade*, *tepidum* > *tiède*, *pedicum* > *piège*, *computum* > *conte*, *aetaticum* > *âge*, *pascere* > *paître*, *fraxinum* > *frêne*, **metipsimum* (= *met ipsissimum*) > *même*, *cannabem* > *chanvre*, *cameram* > *chambre*, *i(n)sulam* > *île*, *circulum* > *cercle*, **essere* (= *esse*) > *être*, *ducere* > *duire*, *facitis* > *faites*, *dicitis* > *dites*, *vendita* > *vente*, *pollicem* > *pouce*.

* § 53. Certain Classical Latin proparoxytons became paroxytons in Vulgar Latin, and have been treated as such in French. (See § 57.)

Paroxyton.

§ 54. The final vowel is lost:

navem > *nef*, *me(n)sem* > *mois*, *parem* > *pair*, *murum* > *mur*, *bene* > *bien*, *mortalem* > *mortel*,

pavonem > *paon*, **siccum** > *sec*, **ferrum** > *fer*, **caballum** > *cheval*, **campum** > *champ*, **salvum** > *sauf*, **factum** > *fait*, **habes** > *as*, **dicis** > *dis*, **dico** > *di(s)*.

Words which retain the final, e.g. *juste*, *monde*, *chaste*, *honnête*, are of Learned, not Popular, formation.

§ 55. The final, however, remains as 'e mute' (so called, although it was still pronounced in the 16th century, and even at the present day counts as a syllable in poetry) or 'e feminine' in the following cases :

1. When it is *a* :

cartam > *charte*, **unam** > *une*, **amaram** > *amère*, **siecam** > *sèche*, **amat** > *aime*, **viam** > *voie*, **alam** > *aile*, **terram** > *terre*, **portam** > *porte*, **bonam** > *bonne*.

2. When it follows certain groups of consonants, namely combinations of an explosive with *e* or *r*; and one or two other combinations :

(Labial + r) **fabrum** > (*or*)*fèvre*, **labra** > *lèvre*
febrem > *fièvre*.

(Dental + r) **patrem** > *père*, **nostrum** > *notre*,
matrem > *mère*, **quattuor** >
quatre.

(y + r) **pejor** > *pire*, **major** > *maire*.

(Labial + l) **duplum** > *double*, ***trifolum** > *trèfle*,
insimul > *ensemble*.

(lm) **calnum** > *chaume*, **helnum** > *heaume*.

(ln) **alnum** > *aune*.

(mn) **somnum** > *somme*.

(Labial + y) ***apyum** (< *apium*) > *ache*, ***rubyum** (< *rubeum*) > *rouge*, ***simyum** (< *simium*) > *singe*.

3. When it is followed by a group of consonants :
vendunt > *vendent*, **ament** > *aiment*.

§ 56. The final, when in hiatus with the tonic vowel, or when, before the epoch at which it would have fallen, it came into hiatus with the tonic (in consequence of the loss of a labial or palatal consonant), did not fall, but formed a diphthong with the tonic vowel, and was thus preserved. (See §§ 32, 33.)

* § 57. Certain Classical proparoxytons had become paroxytons in Vulgar Latin, and are treated as such in French.

1. Those in which the tonic and penultimate vowels were in hiatus, and the accent shifted to the penultimate (see § 11), e.g. *filiolum* > *filiólum* > *filleul*.

2. Those in which the penultimate was i, e, u, in hiatus with the final.

i, e, became consonified, and thus no longer formed a syllable (see § 71), e.g. *filius* > **filyus* > *fils*, *varium* > **varyu* > *vair*, *palatium* > **palatyu* > *palais*.

u in the same position was often dropped: *mortuum* > **mortu* > *mort*, *quattuor* > **quattor* > *quatre*, *battuo* > **batto* > *bat(s)*. In other words, it became a semi-vowel (w): *viduam* > **vidwa* > *veuve*, *annualem* > **annwale* > O.F. *anvel*, *Januarium* > **janwariu* > *janvier*.

3. Some words in which the penultimate was lost very early: *calidum* > **caldu* > *chaud*, *placitum* > **plactu* > *plaid*, *digitum* > **degtu* > *doi(g)t*, *nitidum* > **netdu* > *net*, *vetulum* > **veclu* > *vieil*, *colaphum* > **colpu* > *coup*, *viridem* > **verde* > *vert*.

CHAPTER V

PRETONIC VOWELS

§ 58. A LATIN word may have one syllable before the tonic accent, as *venire*, *novéllus*; or two syllables, as *ornaméntum*, *collocáre* (or sometimes even three, as *imperatórem*). Where there are two pretonic syllables, the former of the two bears the secondary accent. In both cases the vowel of the first syllable of the word is called ‘initial’; where it bears the secondary accent it is also called ‘countertonic.’ The syllable falling between the countertonic and tonic is called the ‘counterfinal.’

Initial vowel.

§ 59. The initial vowel always persists in French, generally without change, though sometimes weakened. *ɛ* and *e* pretonic are not distinguished; *ɔ* free and blocked and *ø* free become *ou* (except before a nasal); *ø* blocked remains *o*.

a: *pavonem* > *paon*, *habere* > *avoir*, *latronem* > *larron*, *valere* > *valoir*, *amorem* > *amour*, *maritum* > *mari*, *argentum* > *argent*, *cantare* > *chanter*, *castellum* > *château*, *radicinam* > *racine*, *manducare* > *manger*.

e: *debere* > *devoir*, *crepare* > *crever*, *levare* > *lever*, *videre* > O.F. *veoir*, *sedere* > *seoir*, *credentia* > *créance*, *aëticum* > O.F. *eäge*, *cessare* > *cesser*,

virtutem > *vertu*, *mercedem* > *merci*, *venire* > *venir*, *intrare* > *entrer*.

i: *liberare* > *livrer*, *viventem* > *vivant*, *hibernum* > *hiver*, *privare* > *priver*, *finire* > *finir*.

ø free : *novellum* > *nouvel*, **potère* > *pouvoir*, *molinum* > *moulin*, *colorem* > *couleur*, **morire* (= *mori*) > *mourir*, **volère* (= *velle*) > *vouloir*, *probare* > *prouver*.

In position : *fortunam* > *fortune*, *dormire* > *dormir*, *sortire* > *sortir*, *mortalem* > *mortel*, *hospitalem* > *hôtel*.

Before a nasal : *sonare* > *sonner*, *honorem* > *honneur*, *commeatum* > *congé*, *somniare* > *songer* [*dominicam* > *dimanche* by analogy of *di* < *diem* in *lundi*, *mardi*, &c.].

ø : *subinde* > *souvent*, *nodare* > *nouer*, *nutrire* > *nourrir*, *dubitare* > *douter*. (But *soliculum* > *soleil*.)

Before a nasal : *donare* > *donner*, *numerare* > *nombrer*, *cumulare* > *combler*, *nominare* > *nommer*.

u: *durare* > *durer*, *judicare* > *juger*, **pulicellam* > *pucelle*, *fumare* > *fumer*, *humanum* > *humain*, *lunae diem* > *lundi*.

au > o: *pausare* > *poser*, *ausare* > *oser*, *auriculam* > *oreille*. This *o* became *ou* where it was in hiatus with another vowel : *laudare* > *louer*, *gaudere* > *jouir*, *audire* > *ouïr* (cf. § 30).

* § 60. In other cases the initial vowel has been weakened to *e* 'mute' (compare the present pronunciation of *monsieur*, *faisant*).

a is regularly weakened to *e*:

i. After c, when free : *caballum* > *cheval*, *capillum* >

cheveu, canilem > *chenil, canutum* > *chenu, caminum* > *chemin, capriolum* > *chevreuil, cannabinum* > *chènevis.*

a remains in *chaire* < *cathedram*, *chaîne* < *catenam*; also in *chaleur* < *calorem*, *chaloir* < *calere*, perhaps under the influence of *chaud*.

2. When by the loss of a consonant it comes into hiatus with a tonic vowel, especially u: **saputum* > O.F. *seü*, *maturum* > O.F. *meüir*, a(u)gur(i)um > O.F. *eür*, **habutum* > O.F. *eu*, *flagellum* > *fléau*, *pratellum* > *préau*, *fatutum* > O.F. *feü*.

i has been weakened to e where the tonic vowel was i, as in *devin* < *divinum*, *devis* < *divisum*, *demi* < **dimedium*; also in *merveille* < *mirabilia*, *premier* < *primarium*.

*§ 61. The following cases of unusual treatment of the initial vowel may be noticed:

1. e becomes sometimes a before r (probably dialectal): *mercantem* > *marchand*, *mercatum* > *marché*, *pergamenum* > *parchemin*, *pigritiam* > *paresse*; it becomes a also in *silvaticum* > *sauvage*, *zelosum* > *jaloux*, *trepalium* > *travail*.

2. e becomes u under the influence of a following labial consonant in *fumier* < *fimarium*, *buvant* < *bibentem* (O.F. *bevant*), *jumeau* < *gemellum*.

3. o before a nasal has become a in *dominiarium* > *danger*, *dominicellam* > O.F. *damoiselle* > *demoiselle* (probably another case of weakening to e: ē > ā, see § 36). On the other hand, a + nasal > o in *damnaticum* > *dommage*.

a likewise becomes o in *Noël* < *natalem*, *poêle* < *patellam* (probably dialectal).

4. au became a in Vulgar Latin when the tonic vowel was u: a(u)gustum > *août*, a(u)gur(i)um > (h)eür.

This change as well as that of pretonic i to e is a kind of 'dissimilation' (see § 136).

§ 62. Like the tonic vowel the initial vowel becomes nasal when followed by nasal + consonant, and undergoes the same changes on being nasalized as the tonic: **manducare** > *manger*, **cantare** > *chanter*, **somniare** > *songer*, &c. (cf. §§ 34, 36).

Like the tonic vowel, too, the pretonic forms a diphthong with a parasitic *i*:

ai: **laxare** > *laisser*, **tractare** > *traiter*, **axillam** > *aisselle*, **rationem** > *raison*, **adjutare** > *aider*, **placere** > *plaisir*.

ei > *oi*: **licere** > *leisir* > *loisir*, **medietatem** > *moitié*, **plicare** > *poyer*, **necare** > *noyer*, **piscionem** > *poisson*, **pectorinam** > *poitrine*.

***Presionem** (= *prehensionem*) > *prison* on the analogy of *pris*.

oi: **focarium** > *foyer*, **potionem** > *poison*, **otiosum** > *oiseux*, **frustiare** > *froisser*.

ui: **lucentem** > *luisant*, **duxisti** > *duisis*.

aui > *oi*: **gaudiosum** > *joyeux*, ***aucellum** (= *avicellum*) > *oiseau*.

* § 63. In many cases, by the loss of a medial consonant, the pretonic and tonic vowels came together, forming in O.F. a hiatus. About the 14th century this hiatus was in many cases removed, either (1) by dropping the first vowel, or (2) by combining the two into a diphthong.

1. The former vowel is lost if it is *e* or *a* (unless the second is *i*):

aetaticum > *eäge* > *âge*, **maturum** > *meür* > *mûr*, **securum** > *seür* > *sûr*, **metipsimum** > *meësme* > *même*, ***saputum** > *seü* > *su*, ***vidutum** > *veü* > *vu*, ***habutum** > *eu* > *eu* (pronounced *u*), **videre** > *veöir* > *voir*, **cadere** > *cheöir* > *choir*, **sedere** > *seöir* > *seoir* (pron. *soir*), **redemptionem** > *reänçon* > *rançon*, **rotundum** > *reönd*

> *rond, augustum* > *aöt* > *août* (pron. *ou*), *satullum*
> *saoul* (pron. *soul*), **Saconam** > *Sâône* (pron. *Sone*),
***guadagnare** (Germ. *waidanjan*) > *gaägner* > *gagner*.

NOTE.—*eü* becomes *eu*, not *u*, in *feu* < *fatutum*, (*h)eur* < *augurium*, *jeun* < *jejenum*; these are probably the Norman forms. For cases where *e, a*, have remained, see below.

2. The two vowels formed a diphthong (especially *ai, ei*): **reginam** > *reïne* > *reine*, **traditor** > *traïtre* > *traître*, **faginam** > *faine* > *fâine*, **vaginam** > *gaine* > *gâine*, ***truginare** (from ***tragere** = Class. *trahere*) > *träiner* > *trainier*.

In other cases the two vowels remained separate: **vivenda** > *viande*, **fidare** > *fier*, **ligamen** > *lien*, **quiritare** > *crier*, **sudare** > *suer*, **jocare** > *jouer*, **votare** > *vouer*, **Natalem** > *Noël*, **necare** > *noyer*, **audire** > *ouïr*, **scutellam** > *écuelle*. *e* has remained in certain legal expressions: *échéance*, *séance*, *péage*; in *préau* and *abbaye* (properly *abeïe*) under the influence of the simpler words *pré* and *abbé*; *fleäu* (*flagellum*) had become regularly *flau* in the 16th century, but the *e* was restored in the pronunciation under the influence of the orthography. *a* when followed by *ö* has remained, and the *o* is lost: **pavonem** > *paon*, now pronounced *pan*; ***tabonem** (= *tabanum*) > *taon*, pron. *tan*¹; **fetonem** > *faon*, pron. *fan*.

*§ 64. The initial vowel has been sometimes suppressed where it came between an initial consonant and *l* or *r*: **veracem** > *vrai*, **directum** > *droit*, **quiritare** > *crier*, **corrotulare** > *crouler*.

*§ 65. Proclitic words—that is to say, monosyllabic prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, or auxiliary verbs, which are attached so closely to the succeeding word as to lose all

¹ The Dictionary of the Academy gives the pronunciation *ton*, but *tan* is more usual.

independent accent—have developed not as tonic but as pretonic syllables. Thus **nos** > *nous* (not *neus*), **vos** > *vous*, **me** > *me* (besides the accented form *moi*), **ēs** (Class. *ēs*) > *es* (in O.F. there was the accented *ies*), **habes** > *as*, **ad** > *à*, **pro** > *pour*, **quare** > *car* (O.F. also *quer*), **non** > *ne*, **et** > *et*, **quid** > *que* (also the accented *quoi*), **ubi** > *où*, **per** > *par* (cf. § 61 (1)), **sine** > *sans*, **de** > *de*, ***quomo** (= *quomodo*) > *comme*, **male** > *mal* (O.F. also accented *mel*).

Counterfinal.

§ 66. The counterfinal vowel, following the countertonic or syllable which bears the secondary accent, is subject to the same laws as the final of a paroxyton word (following the tonic syllable). As a general rule it has disappeared :

cerebellum > *cerveau*, **verecundiam** > *vergogne*, **mediatatem** > *moitié*, **sanitatem** > *santé*, **bellitatem** > *beauté*, **subitanum** > *soudain*, **hospitalem** > *hôtel*, **dormitorium** > *dortoir*, **adjutare** > *aider*, **monticellum** > *monceau*, **radicinam** > *racine*, **civitatem** > *cité*, **matutinum** > *matin*, **singularēm** > *sanglier*, ***paraulare** (= *parabolare*) > *parler*, **manducare** > *manger*, **vindicare** > *venger*, **collocare** > *coucher*, **tremulare** > *trembler*, **fallere-habet** > *faudra*, **salicetum** > *saussaie*, **navicellam** > *nacelle*, **salinarium** > *saunier*.

§ 67. The counterfinal, however, like the final, remains as *e* :

1. When it is *a* :

baccalarem > *bachelier*, **amare-habeo** > *aimerai*, **ornamentum** > *ornement*, **orphaninum** > *orphelin*, **sinapatum** > *sénévé*.

2. When it follows a group of consonants which require a ‘supporting vowel’ (cf. § 55 (2)) :

quadrifurcum > *carrefour*, **nutritura** > *nourriture*,
paupertatem > *pauvreté*.

3. Before more than one consonant, or before l, n, followed by *yod*:

peregrinum > *pèlerin*, **gubernare** > *gouverner*, **papilionem** > *pavillon*, **quadrilionem** > *carillon*, **campinionem** > *champignon*, **companionem** > *compagnon*, **luscinium** > *rossignol*, **caballarium** > *chevalier*.

* As in the initial syllable, this *e* was afterwards lost where it came into contact with a vowel following: **abbatissam** > *abeësse* > *abbesse*, **cantatorem** > *chanteëur* > *chanteur*, **armaturam** > *armeüre* > *armure*; or with a vowel preceding: **castigamentum** > *chastiement* > *châtiment*, **medium noctem** > *mienuit* > *minuit*; or when it came between *r* and another consonant: **sacramentum** > *sairement* > *serement* > *serment*, **mirabilia** > *mereveille* > *merveille*, **paradisum** > *pareis* > *parevis* > *parvis*, **petrosilium** > *peresil* > *persil*, **latrocinium** > *larrecin* > *larcin*; also in **suspicionem** > *suspeçon* > *soupçon*.

§ 68. In derived words there are many apparent exceptions, caused by the influence of the simple words, e.g.: **suspirare** > *soupirer*, by analogy with *soupir*; **dolorosum** > *douloureux*, with *douleur*; **coronare** > *couronner*, with *couronne*; **maritare** > *marier*, with *mari*; **carbonarium** > *charbonnier*, with *charbon*, &c. Similarly all the futures of the second conjugation keep their *i* on the analogy of the infinitive: **finire-habeo** > *finirai*, &c.

CHAPTER VI

LATIN CONSONANTS. CHANGES IN VULGAR LATIN

§ 69. The consonants may be thus classified :—

1. According to the mode of formation of the sound :

(a) *Explosives* : in pronouncing these, the passage of the air through the mouth is completely stopped at a given moment, then suddenly opened ; they are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*.

(b) *Spirants* (or fricatives) : the passage of the air is simply constricted, but never completely stopped, so that the articulation of these consonants can be prolonged indefinitely. Latin has the spirants *f*, *w* (*v*), *s*, *y* (*j*).

(c) *Liquids* : *l*, in which the passage of the air is closed in the middle and open at the sides ; and *r*, produced by a rolling of the tongue.

(d) *Nasals* (*n* and *m*) : part of the air expelled in producing the sound passes through the nose. *m* is equivalent to a *b* pronounced so that the air passes partly through the nose, and *n* to a *d* similarly pronounced.

The liquids and nasals are often included together under the common term ‘liquids.’ Like the spirants, they are capable of being prolonged.

2. According to the place of articulation :

(a) *Labials*, formed by bringing the lips together (bilabials—*p*, *b*, *m*, *w*), or by bringing the upper teeth into contact with the lower lip (labio-dentals—*f*, *v*).

(b) *Dentals*, formed by bringing the tongue against the teeth, or against the gums behind the teeth (*t, d, s*).

(c) *Palatals*, formed by bringing the tongue against the palate (*k, g, y..*).

There is a further distinction between *voiced* consonants (*b, d, g, v, z*)—that is, those whose articulation is accompanied by a vibration of the vocal cords such as is produced in pronouncing a vowel, the sound made by this vibration being called voice—and *voiceless* consonants (*p, t, k, f, s*), those not accompanied by a vibration of the vocal cords.

The following table shows the Latin consonants thus classified :

| | Explosives | | Spirants | | Liquids | Nasals |
|-----------|------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------|--------|
| | voiceless | voiced | voiceless | voiced | | |
| Labials | p | b | f | w (v) | — | m |
| Dentals | t | d | s | — | l, r | n |
| Gutturals | k (c) | g | — | y (j) | — | — |

k is denoted by **c**, and **y** by **j**. Latin **x** was equivalent to a double consonant **cs**, and **z** (only found in Greek loan-words) to **ds**. **H** was merely a breathing. The Classical Latin **v** denoted the bi-labial sound **w**; however, in Vulgar Latin it had become a labio-dental like Modern French (or English) **v**. The combinations **qu**, **gu**, represented respectively **kw** and **gw**.

§ 70. The Palatals require special notice. Latin **c, g**, were always pronounced as in *côte, gloire*, never as in *cent, gent*. There was, however, a slight difference in their place of articulation and consequently of their sound, according to the sound which followed, thus :—

1. The tongue is in contact with the soft palate near the uvula in pronouncing *k, g*, followed by *o, u, or a consonant*.
2. The tongue is in contact with the palate farther

forward—at the back of the hard palate—in pronouncing *k, g*, before *a, au*.

3. The tongue is in contact with the palate still farther forward, near the root of the teeth, in pronouncing *k, g*, before *e, i*.

These three groups of palatals are indicated without distinction by **c, g**, in Latin; but they develop very differently on passing into French.

Already in Vulgar Latin **c** and **g** before **e, i**, altered; they took double sounds, **k** and **g** followed by the spirant **y**; thus **cera** (pron. *kera*) became **kyera**, **gentem** became **gyente**. **gy** underwent a further change and was reduced to **y** alone, thus **gyente > yente**.

The Greek letter **z** likewise became **y** in Vulgar Latin (**zelosus > yelosus**); so did **di** before a vowel (**diurnus > yurnus**); and Classical Latin **j** was already pronounced **y**.

§ 71. The unaccented vowels **i, e, u**, in hiatus became in Vulgar Latin consonants (or semi-vowels). **i, e**, became **y**: **paleam > palya, rationem > ratyone**. **u** became (in some cases) **w**: **januarium > yanwaryu, viduam > vedwa, annualem > anwale**.

§ 72. Vulgar Latin **y** thus arises from **c, g**, before **e, i**; from **j, z, di + vowel**; from atonic **i, e**, in hiatus. In some cases it remains as a consonant in French, or combines with an adjacent consonant; in others, as we have seen, it becomes vocalized to **i**, forming a diphthong with an adjacent vowel.

§ 73. **h** was lost in Vulgar Latin in all cases, whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word. Thus **hibernum > ibernu, habere > abere, prehendere > prendere, mihi > mi, cohortem > corte**. Similarly **ch** became **c**: **bracchium > bracciu**; **th** became **t**: **cathedram > catedra**; **ph** became **p**: **colaphum > colpu** (in some

words, introduced from Greek at a later period when the pronunciation had changed, **ph** > **f**: **phantasma** > **fantasma** > *fantôme*, **phasianum** > *faisan*).

§ 74. *Final m* was lost in all cases: **murum** > **muru**, **bonum** > **bonu**; it remained only when it followed the accented vowel, i. e. in monosyllables: **rem** (Fr. *rien*).

§ 75. **ns**, **rs**. **n** was invariably lost before **s**: **sponsus** > **sposus**, **mensis** > **mesis**, **mansio** > **masio**, **pensare** > **pesare**, **insula** > **isula**, **prehensi** > **presi**. In some cases **r** also was lost before **s**: **sursum** > **susu**, **dorsum** > **dossu**.

§ 76. *Initial s + consonant*. Groups of consonants, of which the first was **s**, occurring at the beginning of a word, were found difficult to pronounce when the preceding word ended with a consonant. To make the pronunciation easier a vowel was prefixed; it is found in inscriptions written generally **i**, sometimes **e**. Thus **scribere** was spoken after a word ending in a vowel, but **iscribere** after a word ending in a consonant. Similarly **scala** and **iscala**, **spica** and **ispica**, **spatha** and **ispatha**. The double forms remained down to the time of the earliest French texts (e. g. the *Cantilène de Ste. Eulalie*, 9th century; *Vie de St. Alexis*, about 1050¹); then the original forms were lost, and only those with the vowel prefixed were retained: **iscribere** > *escrire*, **iscalam** > *eschelle*, **ispicam** > *espi*, **ispatham** > *espee*, &c.

The Consonants in French.

§ 77. The development of the consonants in French depends upon their position in the word, whether at the beginning (initial), in the middle (medial), or at the end (final). Again, when medial, they may occur between two

¹ See Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, Spec. II and IV.

vowels, or they may be a member of a group of two or three consonants. Such groups are either primary—that is, existing already in Latin (as **rupta**, **campum**)—or secondary—that is, arising first in Romance by the loss of an unaccented vowel (penultimate or counterfinal), as the group **mpr** in **rump(e)re**. The development of the consonants is in general the same both in primary and secondary groups (except in so far as they had already changed before forming a secondary group—see § 103).

A consonant therefore develops according as it is

1. Initial or occurring at the beginning of a word, as **r** in **rupta**. Initial consonants, with the exception of the palatals, remain unchanged.
2. Intervocal, i. e. occurring between two vowels, as **p** in **ripa**.
3. The last consonant of a group : in this position a consonant is called *supported*, and, like the initial consonant, remains unchanged, e. g. **p** in **campum**, **l** in **mer(u)la**.
4. The first consonant of a group, as **m** in **campum**, **r** in **mer(u)la**.
5. The middle consonant of a group of three, as **c** in **punctum**, **p** in **rump(e)re**.
6. Final, as **d** in **ad**, **l** in **mel**.

CHAPTER VII

I. INITIAL CONSONANTS

§ 78. INITIAL consonants (setting aside the palatals) and groups of consonants remain unchanged. Almost any of the words quoted in this book will serve as examples ; the following will be enough to mention here :

pontem > *pont*, **placere** > *plaisir*, **bonum** > *bon*, **brevem** > *brief*, **vivere** > *vivre*, **videre** > *voir*, **furnum** > *four*, **talem** > *tel*, **tenere** > *tenir*, **decem** > *dix*, **durum** > *dur*, **sanum** > *sain*, **sapere** > *savoir*, **rabiem** > *rage*, **reginam** > *reine*, **latronem** > *larron*, **lunam** > *lune*, **manum** > *main*, **magis** > *mais*, **nasum** > *nez*, **nomen** > *nom*.

For initial groups consisting of s + consonant, see § 76.

* § 79. h. As stated in § 73, h was invariably lost in Vulgar Latin. In words derived from Germanic, h remained in French, and at the present day it is the so-called *h aspirate*, which, though never pronounced, prevents the *liaison* of a preceding consonant, as *hache* < Germ. *happja*, *hair* < Germ. *hatjan*, *haie* < Germ. *haga*. In words derived from Latin a mute h is frequently written in Middle and Modern French :

1. In imitation of the Classical Latin spelling, as *homme* < *hominem*, O.F. *ome*.

2. Through analogy with Germanic words, as *haut* < *alturn* (cf. Germ. *hoch*).

3. Generally before words beginning with *u*, to prevent confusion in MSS. between *u* and *v*, which were written alike, as *huit* < *octo*, *huis* < *ostium*.

* § 80. Germanic *w* was represented in Vulgar Latin by *gu* (= *gw*), which in French became *g* (written also *gu*) : *garder* < *wardan*, *gagner* < *waidanjan*, *guerre* < *werra*. Under the influence of Germanic words, certain Latin words beginning with *v* have also taken *g* in French : *guêpe* < *vespam* (cf. Mod. Ger. *wespe*) ; *gâter* < *vastare* (cf. *wastan*) ; *gué* < *vadum* (cf. *wadan*, Eng. *wade*), *gaine* < *vaginam* ; *gui* < *viscum* ; *guivre* < *viperam*.

* § 81. Initial *l* has been lost, through confusion with the article, in *azur* < *lazurum*, *once* < *lynceum* (cf. English *adder* = *nadder*) ; and the *l* of the article has been joined on to *lendemain* < *in-de-mane*, *lierre* < *hederam* (cf. English *newt* = *ewt*).

* § 82. *v* > *f* in *fois* < *vicem*, *fade* < *vapidum* ; *m* > *n* in *nappe* < *mappam*, *natte* < *mattam*, *nèfle* < *mes-pilum*.

ranunculum > *grenouille*, perhaps under the influence of the verb *gracidare*, to croak ; *tremere* > *craindre*, under influence of Celtic *cretin* ; *vervecem* > Vulg. Lat. *berbecem* (see § 104) > *brebis* ; *hors* is formed from *dehors* < *deors* < *deforis* (see § 90) ; *loir* < *glirem*, unexplained.

Palatals.

§ 83. As stated in § 70, the palatals *k*, *g*, had slightly different sounds according as they came (1) before *o*, *u*, or a consonant ; (2) before *a* (*au*) ; (3) before *e*, *i*, in which

case they had already developed to **ky**, **y**, in Vulgar Latin. In French these three groups of sounds develop differently.

1. Before **o**, **u**, or a consonant, **c**, **g**, retain their original sound :

c : **collem** > **cou**, **cursum** > **cours**, **curam** > **cure**, **cubitum** > **coude**, **cretam** > **craie**, **clarum** > **clair**, **codam** > **queue**, **claudere** > **clore**.

g : **guttam** > **goutte**, **gulam** > **gueule**, **gustum** > **goût**, **grandem** > **grand**, **granum** > **grain**.

NOTE.—In some cases initial **c** became **g** in Vulgar Latin : **conflare** > ***gonflare** > **gonfler**, ***classum** (= **classicum**) > ***glassum** > **glas**, **crassum** > **gras**, **claria** > **glaire**, **cucurbitam** > **gourde**, **caviolam** > **geôle**, **craticulam** > **grille**.

2. Before **a**, **au**, **c** and **g** become respectively **ch**, **j**. These sounds, which were unknown to Latin, are palatal spirants, **ch** being voiceless and **j** voiced ; they are called in French *chuintantes*¹. The original pronunciation in French was **tch**, **dj** (as in English *choose*, *jump*), but in the 13th century **tch**, **dj**, were reduced to simple **ch**, **j**.

c > **ch** : **cantare** > **chanter**, **caballum** > **cheval**, **captiare** > **chasser**, **castellum** > **château**, **campum** > **champ**, **causam** > **chose**, **caulem** > **chou**.

g > **j** : **gambam** > **jambe**, **galbinum** > **jaune**, **gaudia** > **joie**, **gautam** (= **gabatam**) > **joue**.

NOTE.—The numerous words found in French which have not undergone this change of **c** > **ch** are borrowed from the Picard or Norman dialects, or from another Romance language. Thus **camp**, **campagne**, are from Italian, the French forms being **champ**, **champagne**; **cabane**, **caisse**, &c., probably from Provençal ; and so on.

3. **c** before **e**, **i**, which had come to be pronounced **ky** in Vulgar Latin, continued to be written **c**, but was pronounced

¹ The *chuintantes* are denoted phonetically by the signs *ʃ*, *ʒ*, or sometimes by *š*, *ž*.

first *ts*, then (since the 13th century) *s*: *centum* > *cent*, *ceram* > *cire*, *cippum* > *cep*, **celum* (= *caelum*) > *ciel*.

NOTE.—*Circare* gave in O.F. regularly *cerchier*; the modern *chercher* is due either to an assimilation of the consonants (see § 143) or perhaps to the influence of the Picard form *cherkier*.

g before **e, i** (Vulgar Latin **y**) > *dj* > *j*, as in (2), written **g**: **gelare** > *geler*, **gentem** > *gent*, **generum** > *gendre*.

§ 84. Classical Latin **j** (**y**) with **di** in hiatus, and **z**, which had also become Vulg. Lat. **y**, likewise > *j*: **jam** > *jà*, **jactare** > *jetter*, **juvenem** > *jeune*, **jejunum** > *jeun*, **diurnum** > *jour*, **deusque** > *jusque*, **deorsum** > *jus*, **zelosum** > *jaloux*.

§ 85. **qu** (*kw*) and **gu** (*gw*) lose the labial sound and remain as simple **k** (written *qu*, *c*) and **g**: **qualem** > *quel*, **quantum** > *quant*, **quadrilionem** > *carillon*, **quadrifurcum** > *carrefour*, **quaternum** > *cahier*, **quatt(u)or** > *quatre*, ***guardare** (from Germanic) > *garder*.

NOTE.—*quinque*, *quinquaginta*, became in Vulg. Lat. **cinque*, **cinquanta*, by dissimilation; cf. § 142.

CHAPTER VIII

II. INTERVOCAL CONSONANTS

§ 86. THE labials remain, but are weakened to *v*; the dentals have disappeared altogether; **s**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, remain without change; **c** in most cases, **g** always, disappears, giving rise under certain conditions to a parasitic *i*.

Labials p, b, v, f.

§ 87. Latin **p**, **b**, **v**, are all represented by *v* in French. First **p** was weakened to **b** (cf. in Low Latin texts of the 6th or 7th centuries such spellings as **lebrosi**), then this and original Latin **b** gave *v*.

p: *crepare* > *crever*, *trepalium* > *travail*, *ripariam* > *rivière*, *sapere* > *savoir*, *cupam* > *cuve*, *ripam* > *rive*.

b: *habere* > *avoir*, *debere* > *devoir*, *fabam* > *feve*, *probare* > *prouver*, *subinde* > *souvent*, *caballum* > *cheval*.

v: *levare* > *lever*, *lavare* > *laver*, *movere* > *mouvoir*, *vivam* > *vive*.

§ 88. In O.F. a voiced explosive or spirant at the end of a word always became voiceless. Thus, where this *v* became final by the loss of the following vowel, it changed to *f*: **capum* > *chef*, *trabem* > *tref*, *vivum* > *vif*, *ovum* > *œuf*, *novem* > *neuf*, *navem* > *nef*, *clavem* > *clef*, *brevem* > *brief*, *bovem* > *bœuf*.

§ 89. There are, however, cases in which the labial has dropped out completely. This has taken place before

o and u (seldomer after o, u) : *saputum > *su*, *habutum > *eu*, *débutum > *dû*, *tabonem > *taon*, viburna > *viorne*, pavonem > *paon*, pavorem > *peur*, clavum > *clou*, **Andegavum** > *Anjou*, lupum > *leu* (cf. § 27, note) ; after o, u, in ovicula > *ouaille*, *nubam > *nue*. For vivenda > *viande*, -ebam > -*oie* (modern *-ais*), see under Dissimilation, § 141.

§ 90. f between two vowels rarely occurs in Latin words, except in compounds, where it is mostly treated as initial : defendere > *défendre*, quadrifurcum > *carrefour*. It has been lost in *de(h)ors* < deforis, ruser < refusare, écrouelle < *scrofellam (= scrofulam).

Dentals t, d, s.

§ 91. t, d.—t became *d*; this and Latin *d* are next weakened to a sound which was probably that of the English voiced *th* (in *the*, *there*, &c.) ; compare in the *Strasburg Oaths*¹ the spellings *aiudha* < adjuta, *cadhuna* < cata-una. They remained still with this pronunciation in the oldest French texts ; but towards the end of the 11th century they disappeared altogether.

catenam > *chaîne*, maturum > *mûr*, quiritare > *crier*, abbatissam > *abbesse*, satullum > *saoul*, votare > *vouer*, mutare > *muer*, amatum > *aimé*, natum > *né*, virtutem > *vertu*, gaudere > *jouir*, credentia > *créance*, audire > *ouïr*, videre > *voir*, cadere > *cheoir*, sudare > *suer*, sedere > *seoir*, nudum > *nu*.

§ 92. In some cases the *d* when final has been restored in the spelling : nodum > *nœud*, pedem > *pied*, nidum > *nid*.

*§ 93. In one or two words a consonant has been inserted in later French where a dental had dropped out : *tradire (= tradere) > O.F. *traïr* > *trahir* ; *invadire (= invadere) > *envaïr* > *envahir* ; *potere > O.F. *pooir* >

¹ See Toynbee, op. cit., Spec. I.

pouvoir (anal. *mouvoir*, &c.); **paradisum** > O.F. *pareïs* > *parevis* > *parvis*.

§ 94. **s** was always voiceless in Classical Latin ; it became *voiced* (*z*) when intervocal, remaining voiceless when final, like all final consonants in O.F. At present it retains the voiced (*z*) sound when intervocal ; at the end of a word it has become mute (except in *liaison*, when it is voiced).

Pausare > *poser*, **pe(n)sare** > *peser*, **rasare** > *raser*, **ma(n)sionem** > *maison*, **risum** > *ris*, **nasum** > *nez* (properly *nes*), **pe(n)sum** > *poi(d)s*.

Liquids l, r, m, n.

§ 95. The liquids **l**, **r**, **m**, **n**, remained without change.

l : **alam** > *aile*, **telam** > *toile*, **palatium** > *palais*, **pilum** > *poil*, **caelum** > *ciel*, **talem** > *tel*, **vilem** > *vil*.

r : **parare** > *parer*, **amarum** > *amer*, **mare** > *mer*, **parem** > *pair*, **carum** > *cher*, **honorem** > *honneur*, **amare** > *aimer*. When final, it is now sometimes mute, especially in infinitives in *-er*.

NOTE.—In the 16th century there was a tendency in Paris to pronounce intervocal **r** as **s**; the only relic of this pronunciation which has remained is the word *chaise*, another form of *chaire* <-cathedram.

n : **unam** > *une*, **planare** > *planer*, **spinam** > *épine*, **plenum** > *plein*, **bene** > *bien*, **sinum** > *sein*, **vinum** > *vin*.

m : **deman** > *demain*, **amare** > *aimer*, **cimam** > *cime*.

§ 96. When final, **n** and **m** have now become mute except in *liaison* (see § 38 (1)), though they are retained in the orthography. In O.F. final **m** > **n** ; it is now written sometimes **n** (**racemum** > *raisin*, **homo** > *on*), sometimes **m** (**nomen** > *nom*, **examen** > *essaim*, **damum** > *daim*).

Palatals.

§ 97. 1. c, g, before o, u: probably c > g, then both disappeared: **securum** > *sûr*, **lucorem** > *lueur*, ***placutum** (= *placitum*) > *plu*, ***tacutum** (= *tacitum*) > *tu*, **amicum** > *ami*, **preco** > *prie*, **spicum** > *épi*, **a(u)gur(i)um** > (*h)eur*, **a(u)gustum** > *août*, ***facunt** > *font*, **focum** > *feu*, **paucum** > *peu*, **fagum** > *fou* (*fouet*), ***traugum** > *trou*.

NOTE.—Words in which c remains as g are learned, or borrowed from dialects: **acutum** > *aigu* (for the regular development cf. the place-name **Montem acutum** > *Mont(h)eu*); **ciconiam** > *cigogne*, **cicadam** > *cigale*, **ficam** > *figue* (these three from Provençal; cf. the place-name **Ciconia** > *Seögne* > *Sogne*), **acutiare** > *aiguiser*, **acculam** > *aiguille*, **secundum** > *second*, pron. *segond*.

2. c, g, before a: c > g, then both > y, and (a) disappear without trace if the preceding vowel is o, u, au: **locare** > *louer*, **advocatum** > *avoué*, **rugam** > *rue*, **aucam** > O.F. *oe* (*oie* is due to analogy of *oiseau*); (b) give rise to parasitic i if the preceding vowel is a, e, i: **bacam** > *baie*, **necare** > *noyer*, **plicare** > *ployer*, **plagam** > *plaie*, **dicam** > O.F. *die*.

3. c before e, i, becomes s (in O.F. at end of word *ts*, written *z*, now *s*, *x*), at the same time giving rise to parasitic i: **avicellum** > ***aucellu** > *oiseau*; **vicinum** > *voisin*; ***cocinam** (= *coquinam*, see § 143) > *cuisine*; **nucem** > *noix*, **vocem** > *voix*, **crucem** > *croix*, **picem** > *poix*, **vicem** > *fois*, **perdicem** > *perd(r)ix*.

g before e or i, j, z, di in hiatus (which were all y in Vulg. Lat.), fall, giving rise to parasitic i: (g) **regem** > *roi*, **legem** > *loi*, **exagium** > *essai*, **corrigiam** > *courroie*; (z) **auctorizare** > *o(c)troyer*, **baptizare** > O.F. *batoier*; (j) **major** > *maire*, **trojam** > *truie*; (di) **radia** > *raie*, **gaudia** > *joie*, **invidiam** > *envie*, **podium** > *puy*, **hodie** > *hui*, **medium** > *mi*, **modium** > *mui(d)*.

NOTE.—**g** before accented *i*, *j* before accented *u*, have not disengaged a parasitic *i*: **reginam** > *reïne* > *reine*, **faginam** > *faiñe* > *faine*, **jejunum** > *jeun*.

qu (*kw*) loses the *k* sound, the *w* being either vocalised to *u*, as in **aquam** > *eau*, or becoming *v*, as in **sequunt** > *suivent*.

CHAPTER IX

III. SUPPORTED CONSONANTS (THE LAST OF A GROUP)

§ 98. SUPPORTED consonants are treated exactly as initial consonants, remaining without change :

palpebram > *paupière*, *serpentem* > *serpent*, *campum* > *champ*, *talpam* > *taupe*, *albam* > *aube*, *gambam* > *jambe*, *corbicula* > *corbeille*, *servire* > *servir*, *partire* > *partir*, *cultellum* > *couteau*, *vestire* > *vêtir*, *portam* > *porte*, *festam* > *fête*, *sortem* > *sort*, *septem* > *sept*, *sanctum* > *saint*, *falsam* > *fausse*, *versare* > *verser*, *capsam* > *châsse*, *ursum* > *ours*, *latronem* > *larron*, *nigrum* > *noir*, *arma* > *arme*, *alnam* > *aune*.

§ 99. On becoming final by the loss of the following vowel, they have in some cases altered slightly in consequence of the phonetic law of Old French, that at the end of a word voiced consonants became the corresponding voiceless consonants. Thus *v* > *f* in *cervum* > *cerf*, *nervum* > *nerf*, *salvum* > *sauf*; *d* > *t* in *vir(i)dem* > *vert*, *tardum* > O.F. *tart*, *cal(i)dum* > O.F. *chaut*, *grandem* > O.F. *grant*, *frig(i)dum* > O.F. *froit*; in the last four examples the *d* has been restored in Modern French by analogy with the Latin spelling, yet is still pronounced *t* in making the *liaison*. The final group *rn* has now lost the *n*: *hibernum* > O.F. *ivern* > *hiver*; *diurnum* > *jorn* > *jour*; *furnum* > *four*; *infernum* > *enfer*; **vernem* > *ver*.

§ 100. *Palatals*.—The palatals have had a threefold development as when initial:

1. Before o, u :

falconem > *faucon*, **arcum** > *arc*, **porcum** > *porc*, **juncum** > *jonc*, ***blancum** > *blanc*, **longum** > *long* (O.F. *lonc*), **siccum** > *sec*, ***beccum** > *bec*, ***francum** > *franc*.

But sc before final o, u, has become *is*: **boscum** > *bois*, **franciscum** > *françois*, **nasco** > *nais*, **friscum** > *frais*, **cresco** > *crois*. Probably sc became es by metathesis (see § 147), then the s was supported, and the c developed parasitic *i*; see § 117.

2. Before a :

c > *tch* > *ch*: **mercatum** > *marché*, **piscare** > *pêcher*, ***blancam** > *blanche*, **plancam** > *planche*, ***francam** > *franche*, **furcam** > *fourche*, **muscam** > *mouche*, **friscam** > *fraîche*.

g > *dj* > *j*: **vergam** > *verge*, **heribergam** (Germ.) > *herberge*, **largam** > *large*.

3. Before e, i :

c > *s*: **rum(i)cem** > *ronce*, **mercedem** > *merci*, **porcellum** > *pourceau*, **dulcem** > *doux*, **poll(i)cem** > *pouce*, **hirp(i)cem** > *herse*; it becomes z in *onze* < *und(e)cim*, *douze* < *du(o)d(e)cim*.

g : **argentum** > *argent*.

di : **vir(i)diarium** > *verger*, **hordeum** > *orge*.

ndi > *n'*: **vereundia** > *vergogne*, **rotundiare** > *rogner*. Note also *longe* > *loin*.

§ 101. **qu** (*kw*) > *k*: **unquam** > *onque*, ***cinquanta** (= *quinquaginta*) > *cinquante*, **dumque** > *dunc*.

gu (*gw*) > *g*: **linguam** > *langue*, ***linguaticum** > *langage*, ***sanguem** (= *sanguinem*) > *sang*.

§ 102. In many cases the second consonant came into contact with the preceding consonant only in the Romance period by the loss of an intervening vowel. The same rule

generally holds good in these cases, as for consonants originally supported:

blasph(e)mare > *blâmer*, **sept(i)mana** > *semaine*; **test(i)-monium** > *témoin*, **lacr(i)mam** > *larme*, **metips(i)mum** > *même*, **juv(e)nem** > *jeune*, **galb(i)num** > *jaune*, **as(i)num** > *âne*, **rap(i)dum** > *rade*; **sol(i)dare** > *solder*, **tep(i)dum** > *tiède*, **nav(i)cellam** > *nacelle*.

But **m'n** > *m*, see § 113; **t'd** > *t*, see § 109.

*§ 103. **t**, **c**, in these secondary combinations had in some cases been weakened to *d*, *g*, while still intervocal, before the preceding vowel had dropped out. They remain in French at the stage which they had reached at the moment of the fall of the vowel. Thus **amitam** > **amta* > (*t*)*ante*, but **subitanum** > **subidanum* > **subdanum* > *soudain*; **revindicam** > **revindca* > *revanche*, but **vindicare** > **vindigare* > **vindgare* > *venger*. Other examples are :

t remains : **semitarium** > *sentier*, **computum** > *conte*, **debita** > *dette*, **hospitem** > *hôte*, **fugita** > *fuite*, **perdita** > *perte*, **vendita** > *vente*, **bonitatem** > *bonté*, **computare** > *conter*, **dubitare** > *douter*.

> *d*: **adcubitare** > *accouder*, **placitare** > *plaider*, **cogitare** > *cuider*, **adjutare** > *aider*, **cucurbitam** > *gourde*, **male-habitum** > *malade*.

c remains : **claudicare** > *clocher*, **collocare** > *coucher*, **masticare** > *mâcher*, **pendicare** > *pencher*, **abradicare** > *arracher*, **persicam** > *pêche*, **perticam** > *perche*, **manicam** > *manche*, **dominicam** > *dimanche*, **impedicare** > *empêcher*.

> *g*: suffix **'aticum** > *-age*, **judicare** > *juger*, **carri-care** > *charger*, ***berbecarium** > *berger*, **manducare** > *manger*, **sericam** > *serge*, **pedicam** > *piège*, **filicarium** > *fougère*, **fabricam** > *forge*.

* § 104. *v* after *r* sometimes became *b* already in V.I.: *corvellum* > **corbellu* > *corbeau*; *curvare* > *curbare* > *courber*; *vervecem* > **verbece* > **berbece* (by assimilation) > *brebis*. On the other hand, *cerebellum* > **cervellu* > *cerveau*.

* § 105. *l, n, > r* in proparoxytons not of popular development: *capit(u)lum* > *chapitre*, *apost(o)lum* > *apôtre*, *epist(o)lum* > *épître*, *tit(u)lum* > *titre*, *coph(i)num* > *coffre*, *pamp(i)nem* > *pampre*, *ord(i)nem* > *ordre* (O.F. regularly *ourne*), *diac(o)num* > *diacre*, *tym(a)num* > *timbre*.

Double Consonants (the second being ‘supported’).

§ 106. Double consonants all became single in O.F. with the exception of *rr*. In Modern French, although the double consonant is generally kept in the spelling, only a single consonant is ever pronounced in popular words, except *rr* in futures like *mourrai*, *courrai*, *querrai*. When final, they are always written single.

Labial: *cappam* > *chape*, *cuppam* > *coupe*, **sappinum* > *sapin*, **drappum* > *drap*, *cippum* > *cep*, *abbatem* > *abbé*.

Dental: *guttam* > *goutte*, **tuttam* > *toute*, *mitto* > *met(s)*, *mittere* > *mettre*, *litteram* > *lettre*, *cattum* > *chat*, *batt(u)ere* > *battre*.

ss: *missa* > *messe*, *pressare* > *presser*, *passum* > *pas*, *grossum* > *gros*, *ossum* > *os*, *pressum* > *prés*.

rr: *terram* > *terre*, *quaerere* > *querre*, **guerra* (Germ. *werra*) > *guerre*, *carrum* > *char*, *ferrum* > *fer*, *turrem* > *tour*, *currit* > *court*.

ll: *bellam* > *belle*, *illam* > *elle*, *appellare* > *appeler*, *nullam* > *nulle*, *villam* > *ville*, *nullum* > *nul*, *collem* > *col*, *mille* > *mil*.

mm : *flammam* > *flamme*, *summam* > *somme*, *gemma* > *gemme*.

nn : *annellum* > *anneau*, *annum* > *an*, *pannum* > *pan*.

§ 107. Palatals :

1. Before o, u : *saccum* > *sac*, *siccum* > *sec*, *beccum* > *bec*.
2. Before a : *peccatum* > *pêché*, *siccam* > *sèche*, *vaccam* > *vache*, *buccam* > *bouche*.

CHAPTER X

IV. THE FIRST OF A GROUP

Labials.

§ 108. 1. Before r the labials develop as when intervocal, i.e. they become v: *capram* > *chître*, *libram* > *livre*, *vit(e)re* > *vitre*, *pip(e)rum* > *pierre*, *op(e)ram* > *œuvre*, *ebrium* > *ivre*, *scrib(e)re* > O.F. *scrivire*, *bib(e)re* > O.F. *boire* (now *avire*, *boire*, by anal. of other verbs such as *être*, *croire*).

2. Before l bl remains: *mobi(l)em* > *mable*, *affib(u)lare* > *affublier*. pl sometimes remains: *copulum* > *couple*, *populum* > *people*; sometimes is weakened to bl: *duplum* > *double*, *triplum* > O.F. *treble*: the latter is probably the popular development.

NOTE.—*scopalum* > * *scoclu* > *scuil*.

3. In a few cases the labials before a consonant have been vocalised to z, the vocalisation having often taken place already in Vulgar Latin: *tab(u)lam* > * *taula* > *tile*; *parabolam* > * *paraula* > *parole*; *avicam* > * *auca* > *œie* (see § 97 (2)); *ar(i)cellum* > * *aucellu* > *oiseau*; *fabr(i)cam* > * *faurga* > *forgie*; *gabatam* > * *gauta* > *jaw*; *habere-habeo* > *aurai*; *sapere-habeo* > *saurai*; *abrotонum* > *aurone*, *piperata* > *pourree* > *purée*.

4. Before all consonants other than r, l (except in the few cases where it was vocalised), the labial has been entirely lost: *scriptum* > *crit*, *capsam* > *chisse*, met-

ipsimum > *même*, **tep(i)dum** > *tiède*, **sub(i)tanum** > *soudain*, **adcaptare** > *acheter*, **ruptam** > *route*, **deb(i)ta** > *dette*, **nav(i)cellam** > *nacelle*; **juv(e)nem** > *jeune*.

Dentals.

§ 109. 1. **t, d**, fall before **r** as between vowels: **nutrire** > *nourrir*, **patrem** > *père*, **fratrem** > *frère*, **cred(e)re** > *croire*, **petram** > *pierre*.

2. They are lost likewise in most other cases: **corrōt(u)lare** > *crouler*, **spat(u)lam** > *épaule*, **rot(u)lum** > *rôle*, **ret(i)nam** > *rêne*, **plat(a)num** > *plane*, **viat(i)cum** > *voyage*, **adsatis** > *assez*, **rad(i)cinam** > *racine*, **advo-catum** > *avoué*, **advenire** > *venir*.

3. The groups **t'd**, **t't**, **d't**, give **t**: **nit(i)dum** > *net*, **mat(u)tinum** > *matin*, **ridet** > *rit*.

4. Before **s**, **t** remained in O.F., and the group **ts** was denoted by **z**; later, the **t** was lost: **latus** > *lez*, **amatis** > *aimez*, **bonitates** > *bontez* > *bontés*.

§ 110. **s** before a consonant remained in the oldest French: **best(i)am** > *beste*, **testam** > *teste*, **scalam** > *eschelle*, ***ess(e)re** > *estre*, **statum** > *esté*, **spicam** > *espi*, **blasph(e)mare** > *blasmer*, **misc(u)lare** > *mesler*, **friscam** > *fresche* (except in the group **sts**, which from the earliest period became **ts**, then **s**: **eccistos** > *icez* > *ces*, cf. § 109 (4)). The **s** begins to drop from the 11th century on, first before voiced explosives, spirants, nasals, and liquids, later before voiceless explosives (compare the English loan-words *blame*, *isle*, on the one hand, and *coast*, *rest*, on the other; they were borrowed at a time when **s** was already silent before *m*, *l*, and not yet before *t*). By the beginning of the 13th century **s** is mute before all consonants, although retained in the spelling down to the 16th century. Hence the modern forms of the above-cited words: *bête*, *tête*, *échelle*, *être*, *été*,

épi, blâmer, mêler, fraîche. Words which still retain the *s* are either learned (as *esprit, juste*) or borrowed from foreign languages (as *escalier* from Ital.).

For the group *sc* before *o, u*, see § 100 (1).

Liquids r, l.

§ 111. *r* remains without change in all cases : *arma* > *arme*, *arborem* > *arbre*, *corpus* > *cor(p)s*, *portam* > *porte*, *ursum* > *ours*, *mer(u)lam* > *merle*, *dormire* > *dormir*, *dormitorium* > *dortoir*.

§ 112. *l* remains without change in the oldest French : *alterum* > *altre*, **colpum* > *colp*. In the 12th century it begins to be vocalised into *u*, which forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus :

al+cons. > *au* (now become, since the 16th century, the simple sound *o*): *alterum* > *altre* > *autre*, *val(e)t* > *vaut*, *malos* > *maux*, *salvum* > *sauf*, *galbinum* > *jaune*, *caldum* > *chaud*, *altum* > *haut*, *saltare* > *sauter*, *fallere-habet* > *faudra*, *falsum* > *faux*, *caballos* > *chevaux*.

el+cons. develops an *a* between the *e* and *l*, *eal*, which > *eau* (now also pronounced *o*): *bellos* > *bels* > *beaux*; *vitellos* > *veaux*, *flagellos* > *fléaux*, *bell(i)tatem* > *beauté*, **aucellos* > *oiseaux*, *castellos* > *châteaux*.

el+cons. > *eu*: *capillos* > *chevels* > *cheveux*; *illos* > *eux*, *ecce-illos* > *ceux*, *fil(i)caria* > O.F. *feugiere* (now *fougère*, unexplained).

el+cons. (from Lat. *al*) > *ieu*: *palos* > *pels* > *pieus* (*tels*, *quels*, &c., properly *tieus*, *quieus*, have been remodelled on the singular).

iel+cons. > *ieu*: *caelos* > *ciels* > *cieux*.

ol „ > *ou*: *molles* > *mous*, *folles* > *fous*, **colpum* > *coup*, *poll(i)cem* > *pouce*.

ol+cons. > *ou*: **dulcem** > *doux*, **pulverem** > *poudre*,
a(u)scultare > *écouter*, **coll(o)care** > *coucher*.

In *il*, *ul*, *eul*, the *l* has been lost :

- il*: **fil(i)cellam** > *ficelle*, **gentiles** > *genti(l)s*.
- ul*: **pulicem** > *puce*, **pulicellam** > *pucelle*.
- eul*: **aviolos** > *aieux*, **volit** > *veut*.

NOTE.—In many cases the vocalisation has been extended by analogy to forms where the *l* was not followed by a consonant. Thus from *châteaux* has been formed a new singular, *château*, instead of *châtel*; from *pieux*, *pieu* instead of *pel*; from *fous*, *fou* instead of *fol*, &c. &c. In other cases the plural has been remodelled on the singular; thus we have *tels*, *quels*, instead of *tieus*, *quieus*; *nuls* instead of *nus*, *filleuls* instead of *filieus*, &c.

Nasals n, m.

§ 113. **n**, **m**, remain, but are partially assimilated to the following consonant; before a labial they appear as *m*, before a dental as *n*.

m : **gambam** > *jambe*, **ambulare** > *ambler*, **involata** > *emblée*, **templum** > *temple*, **in(de)-portare** > *emporter*.

n : **vendere** > *vendre*, **ventum** > *vent*, **insimul** > *ensemble*, **primum tempus** > *printemps*, **sem(i)tarium** > *sentier*, **com(i)tem** > O.F. *conte* (now spelt *comte*).

The groups **mn**, **nm**, each > *m*:

damnaticum > *dommage*, **somnum** > *somme*, **sem(i)nare** > *semer*, **nom(i)nare** > *nommer*, **hom(i)nem** > *homme*, **dom(i)nam** > *dame*, **fem(i)nam** > *femme*, **in(de)menare** > *emmener*, *méchant* (< *minus cadentem*) + *-ment* > *méchamment*.

NOTE.—*solennel* < *solemnalem*, *colonne* < *columnam*, *automne* < *autumnum*, are learned.

§ 114. In certain combinations of liquids and nasals brought together by the fall of a vowel a ‘euphonic’ consonant has been introduced to facilitate the passage from one sound to another. Thus :

m'l > *mbl* : *insimul* > *ensemble*, *trem(u)lare* > *trembler*,
sim(u)lare > *sembler*.

m'r > *mbr*: *numerum* > *nombre*, *cameram* > *chambre*,
cucumerem > *concombre*.

n'r > *ndr* : *ponere* > *pondre*, *tenerum* > *tendre*, *cinerem*
> *cendre*, *minorem* > *moindre*, *venire-habeo* >
viendrai, *Veneris diem* > *vendredi*.

l'r > *ldr* > *udr* : *molere* > *moldre* > *moudre*, *valere-habet* > *vaudra*, *fallere-habet* > *faudra*.

n'l > *ngl*: *spinulam* > *épingle*.

s'r > *sdr*: **cos(e)re* (= *consuere*) > *cousdre* > *coudre*.

ss'r > *str*: **ess(e)re* > *être*.

Palatals.

§ 115. The palatals before another consonant became y in Vulgar Latin. In French this y combines with a following l, n, giving rise to l' *mouillée* (l'), written *ill*, *il*, and n *mouillée* (n'), written *gn*; before other consonants than l, n, it gives rise to parasitic i combining with the preceding vowel.

§ 116. 1. Before l, n :

1: *adgenuc(u)lare* > *agenouiller*, *fodic(u)lare* > *fouiller*, *vig(i)lare* > *veiller*, *coag(u)lare* > *cailler*, *mac(u)lam* > *maille*, *auric(u)lam* > *oreille*, *tenac(u)lam* > *tenaille*, *oc(u)lum* > *œil*, **veclum* (= *vetulum*) > *vieil*, *solic(u)lum* > *soleil*, *peric(u)lum* > *péril*.

Before another consonant, however, the l' became simple l and was vocalised : *oc(u)los* > *yeux*, *gen(u) culos* > *genoux* (hence a new singular *genou* instead of *genouil*): *verruc(u)los* > *verrou* (hence sing. *verrou* instead of *verrouil*), &c.

NOTE.—The following are not popular: *aveugle* < *aboculum* (cf. *oculum* > *œil*); *seigle* < *secalem* (O.F. also *seille*, the popular form); *grêle* < *gracilem*, *frêle* < *fragilem*, *siècle* < *saeculum*, *aigle* < *aqilam*, &c.

n : agnillum > *agneau*, dignare > *daigner*. When the n' was final, the *mouillure* was lost and n' became n, a parasitic i being disengaged: pugnum > *poing*, signum > *seing*, plantaginem > *plantain*. (The older pronunciation with n' has left a trace in the spelling *ng*.)

NOTE.—*étag* < *stagnum*, properly *étaing*.

§ 117. 2. Before other consonants than l, n :—

factum > *fait*, noctem > *nuit*, fructum > *fruit*, lectum > *lit*, tractare > *trakter*, plac(i)tare > *plaider*, frig(i)dum > *froid*, rig(i)dam > *roide*, coxam (x = cs) > *cuisse*, frax(i)num > *fraisne* > *frêne*, texere > *tistre*, buxum > *buis*, laxare > *laisser*, lacr(i)mam > *lairme* > *lerme* > *larame*, sacramentum > *sairement* > *serement* > *serment*, fac(e)re > *faire*, dic(e)re > *dire*, *coc(e)re (=coquere) > *cuire*, nigrum > *noir*, fragrare > *flairer*, maj(o)r > *maire*, pej(o)r > *pire*.

Pretonic 'cs (x) was reduced to s before a consonant (cf. such spellings as *mistus* = *mixtus*), hence expandere > O.F. *espandre*, and by anal. examen > *essaim*, exagium > *essai*. See also Metathesis, § 147.

NOTE.—*aigre* < *acrum*, *maire* < *macrum*, are not popular.

Consonants before yod (i, e, in hiatus).

§ 118. In most cases the consonant and *yod* combine :—

pi > ch : hapiam (from Germanic *happja*) > *hache*, sapiam > *sache*, appropriare > *approcher*, apiam > *ache*, Clipiaccum > *Clichy*.

NOTE.—Pipionem > *pibionem by dissimilation (see § 141) > *pigeon*; sapium > *sabium (unexplained) > *sage*.

§ 119. bi, vi, > g: rubeum > *rouge*, tibiam > *tige*, laubiam (from Germanic *laubja*) > *loge*, rabiem > *rage*, cambiare > *changer*, leviarium > *legier*, abbreviare > *abréger*, alveum

> *auge*, *salviam* > *sauge*, *servientem* > *sergent*, *caveam* > *cage*, *diluvium* > *déluge*.

NOTE.—*Fleuve* < *fluvium* is learned. In some cases, not yet satisfactorily explained, the labial is lost, *yod* only remaining :—**aviolum* > *aïeul*, *pluvium* > *pluie*, *habeo* > *ai*, *debeo* > *doi(s)*.

§ 120. *mi* > *ng*: *vindemiam* > *vendange*, *simium* > *singe*, *commeatum* > *congé*, **laudemiam* > *louange*.

§ 121. *ci* > *s*: *aciarium* > *acier*, **faciam* > *face*, *glaciem* > *glace*, *minaciam* > *menace*, *bracc(h)ium* > *bras*, *laceum* (= *laqueum*) > *la(c)s*, *calciare* > *chausser*, *peciam* > *pièce*.

§ 122. *ti* (1) supported > *s* (except after *s*): *captiare* > *chasser*, *corruptiare* > *courroucer*, *directiare* > *dresser*, *exaltiare* > *essaucer* (*exaucer*), *exfortiare* > *efforcer*, *cumin(i)tiare* > *commencer*, *cantionem* > *chanson*, *nuptiam* > *noce*, *cadentiam* > *chance*, *factionem* > *façon*, *redemptionem* > *rançon*, *neptiam* > *nièce*, **platteam* > *place*, **matteam* > *masse*.

(2) Intervocal, or after *s*, it becomes *z* (written *s*, *x*), at the same time giving rise to a parasitic *i*: *potionem* > *poison*, *rationem* > *raison*, *minutiarium* > *menuisier*, *sationem* > *saison*, *pretiare* > *priser*, *liberationem* > *livraison*, **poteo* (= *possum*) > (*je*) *puis*, *palatium* > *palais*, *premium* > *prix*, *otiosum* > *oiseux*, *angustiam* > *angoisse*, **postius* > *puis*, **ustium* (= *ostium*) > (*h*) *uis*, *frustiare* > *froisser*.

NOTE.—The suffix *-itiam* regularly gives *-eise* in O.F.; *-esse* is probably from *-iciam* substituted for *-itiam*; *-ice* (*justice*, &c.) is learned.

§ 123. *li* > *l'* (written *ill* medially, *il* finally): *aliorsum* > *ailleurs*, *filiam* > *fille*, *battaliam* > *bataille*, *paleam* > *paille*, *folia* > *feuille*, *dolium* > *deuil*, *consilium* > *conseil*, *valeam* > *vaille*, *mirabilia* > *merveille*, *trepalium* > *travail*, *alium* > *ail*.

Where a consonant followed, *l'* > *l*, and then was, as usual, vocalised :

travails > *travaux*, *ails* > *au(l)x*, **melius** > *miels* > *mieux*, *conseils* > *conseus*, now *conseils* reformed from singular.

§ 124. *ni* > *n'* (written *gn*) : **testimoniare** > **témoigner**, **ba(l)neare** > **baigner**, **unionem** > *oignon*, **seniorem** > *seigneur*, **vineam** > *vigne*, **tineam** > *teigne*, **araneatam** > *araignée*, **castaneam** > *châtaigne*.

When final, or followed by a consonant, the *n'* lost the *mouillure* and became *n* with a parasitic *i* : **testimonium** > **témoin**, **ba(l)neum** > *bain*, **junium** > *juin*, **cuneum** > *coin*.

NOTE.—*linge* < *lineum*, *lange* < *laneum*, *étrange* < *extraneum*, are learned.

§ 125. **si**, **ri**, became first probably *z'*, *r'*, then, with loss of the *mouillure* and disengagement of parasitic *i*, *iz* (written *is*), *ir*.

si : **basiare** > *baiser*, **ma(n)sionem** > *maison*, **cerevisiam** > *cervoise*, **messionem** > *moisson*, **to(n)sionem** > *toison*, **fusionem** > *foison*.

ri : **varium** > *vair*, **corium** > *cuir*, **cōpreum** (= *cupreum*) > *civre*, **ebrium** > *ivre*, **gloriam** > *gloire*, **dormitorium** > *dortoir*.

The suffix **-arium** is always found as **-ier** instead of **-air**. In words with an *i*-stem the suffix was **-iarium**, e.g. **consiliarium**; probably **-iarium** > **-iarum** by dissimilation (cf. § 136); **-iarum** gives regularly **-ier**, which was extended by analogy to words which had only **-arium**.

CHAPTER XI

V. THE MIDDLE CONSONANT OF A GROUP OF THREE

§ 126. *Labials and Dentals* remain before r, l, otherwise they are lost: *asp(e)rum* > *âpre*, *rump(e)re* > *rompre*, *amb(u)lare* > *ambler*, *fenestram* > *fenêtre*, *ultra* > *outre*, *intra* > *entre*, *pect(o)rINam* > *poitrine*, *find(e)re* > *fendre*, *perd(e)re* > *perdre*.

NOTE.—*mespilum* > O.F. *mesple*; Mod. F. *nèfle* is unexplained.

Lost: *comp(u)tare* > *conter*, *galb(i)num* > *jaune*, *pect(i)nem* > *peigne*, *perd(i)ta* > *perte*, *test(i)monium* > *témoin*, *mont(i)cellum* > *monceau*, *sept(i)mana* > *semaine*. Sometimes the lost consonant is afterwards restored in the orthography: *tempus* > *tems*, now written *temps*; *corpus* > *cors*, now written *corps*; *nervos* > *ners*, now *nerfs*.

§ 127. *Nasals* are lost: *dorm(i)t* > *dort*, *dorm(i)torium* > *dortoir*.

§ 128. The *Palatals* have been variously treated according to the adjacent consonants, and no general rule can be given.

i. Sometimes they remain without change:

ang(u)lum > *angle*, *ung(u)lum* > *ongle*, *sing(u)larem* > *sanglier*, *(av)unc(u)lum* > *oncle*, *circ(u)lum* > *cercle*, *coperc(u)lum* > *couvercle*, *sarc(u)lare* > *sarcler* (i.e. in groups *ngl*, *ncl*, *rcl*).

2. Sometimes they have disappeared :

misculare > *mêler*; **circinum** > *cerne*; **marg(i)lam** > *marle* (i. e. in groups **scl**, **rcn**, **rgl**, &c.).

3. In other cases they become *y*, and develop *i*:

punctum > *point*, ***finctum** > *feint*, **sanctum** > *saint*, **cresc(i)t** > *croît*, **planetum** > *plaint*, **long(i)tanum** > *lointain*, **pascere** > *pâitre*, **plangere** > *plaindre*.

§ 129. In certain groups (where the 1st and 3rd consonants of the group are liquids or nasals) the middle consonant is assimilated to the other two, becoming *t* or *d* (compare § 114). Thus :

lvr > *ldr* > *udr*: **pulv(e)rem** > *poudre*, **absolv(e)re** > *absoudre*.

scr > *str*: **pasc(e)re** > *pâitre*, **nasc(e)re** > *naître*, **cresc(e)re** > *croître*, **cognosc(e)re** > *connaître*.

ngr > *ndr*: **plang(e)re** > *plaindre*, **fing(e)re** > *feindre*, **ping(e)re** > *peindre*.

rgr > *rdr*: **surg(e)re** > *sourdre*.

lgr > *ldr*: **fulg(u)rem** > *foudre*.

rcr > *rtr*: **carc(e)rem** > *chartre*, **torc(e)re** (= *torquere*) > *tortre*, now *tordre*.

CHAPTER XII

VI. FINAL CONSONANTS

§ 130. THE consonants which are found at the end of a word in Latin are **d**, **t**, **s**, **c**, **r**, **l**, **m**, **n**.

§ 131. **d**, **t**, final, like **d**, **t**, intervocal, are first weakened to voiced *th* (cf. § 91); then, at the end of the 11th century, they are lost altogether: *ad* > *à*, *quid* > *que*, *et* > *e(t)*, *amat* > *aime*, *vivat* > *vive*.

NOTE.—**t** remains in *fut* < *fuit*, *soit* < *sit*.

When, however, the preceding vowel was lost, and **t**, **d**, thus came into contact with the preceding consonant and were ‘supported,’ they have remained: *vivit* > *vit*, *credit* > *croit*, *crescit* > *croît*, *sapit* > *sait*, *perdit* > *perd*, *amasset* > *aimât*.

§ 132. **s** always remains: *amas* > *aimes*, *trans* > *très*, *adsatis* > *assez*, *magis* > *mais*, *murus* > O.F. *murs*, *muros* > *murs*. Now it is mute except in *liaison*; in the 16th century it was still pronounced unless directly followed by a consonant.

§ 133. **c** has generally been lost: *ecce-hic* > *ici*, *ecce-hoc* > *ço* > *ce*, *ecce-hac* > *çà*, *sic* > *si* (in *aussi*, *ainsi*), *illac* > *là*; it remains in *avec* < *ap(ud)-hoc*.

r, **l**, remain: *per* > *par*, *quatt(u)or* > *quatre*, *super* > *sur*, *mel* > *miel*, *fel* > *fiel*, *insimul* > *ensemble*.

§ 134. **m** was lost in Vulgar Latin, except where it followed the accented vowel. In these cases it remains in French as *n*:—

rem > *rien*, *m(e)um* > *mon*, *tam* > *tan* (in *tandis* < *tamdiu*). But *jam* > *jâ*.

n remains: *in* > *en*, **non** > *non*.

CHAPTER XIII

OCCASIONAL CHANGES OF CONSONANTS

§ 135. THE changes hitherto discussed are invariable—that is, under given circumstances a Latin sound always develops in a given way. It remains to speak of certain phenomena which occur in isolated cases, without any regularity, and which are not confined to any particular epoch.

I. *Dissimilation.*

§ 136. When two identical letters, or, more rarely, two letters of the same class, occur in one word, one of them has been changed or lost. This is known as *dissimilation*. The great majority of instances are cases where two identical liquids or nasals occurred in the word, one of them being replaced by another liquid or nasal.

The following are the commonest instances :—

§ 137. Dissimilation of l :—

By *r* :—*lusciniolam* > *rossignol*, *umbiliculum* > *nombril*. By *n* : *libellum* > *nivel* > *niveau*, *umbiliculum* > *ombril*, then *l* of the article became attached to the word (cf. § 81), hence *lombril*, which by dissimilation became *nombril*. By the loss of one *l* : *flebilem* > *faible*, *claviculam* > *cheville*.

§ 138. Dissimilation of *r* :

By *l* : *fragrare* > *flairer*, *paraveredum* > *palefroi*, *peregrinum* > *pèlerin*, *cribrum* > *crible*, *frigorosum* > *frileux*.

§ 139. Dissimilation of *n* :

By *l* : *orphaninum* > *orphelin*, *Bononiam* > *Boulogne*.

§ 140. Dissimilation of **m** : the change **m** > **n** in **mappam** > **nappe**, **mespilum** > **nèfle**, is probably a case of dissimilation, there being another labial in the word.

§ 141. With other letters than liquids and nasals, there occur only a few isolated instances.

Labials.—One of two **v**'s has been dropped in **vivenda** > **viande**, **vervactum** > **guéret**, **vivacem** > O.F. **viaz**. The termination **-ebam** of the Latin second conjugation became **éam** first in those verbs whose stem ended in a labial, e.g. **habebam** > **habéam** (afterwards *-éam was extended to all other verbs by analogy), hence O.F. **-oie**, modern **-ais**. **Pipionem** became ***pibionem**, hence *pigeon*.

§ 142. *Palatals* : **quinque** > ***cinque** > **cinq**, **quinquaginta** > ***cinquanta** > **cinquante**, **gingivam** > ***genciva** > **gencive**.

II. Assimilation.

§ 143. The opposite phenomenon, the making alike of two different consonants of the same class in a word (unless they are immediately together), is rare. By it is often explained the change of O.F. *cerchier* to *chercher*; of Latin *coquere*, *coquinam*, to Vulg. Lat. *cocere*, *cocina* (*cuire*, *cuisine*), &c.—The complete or partial assimilation of two immediately adjacent consonants is, on the contrary, very frequent; see, for example, §§ 113, 118–124, 129.

III. Metathesis.

§ 144. Sometimes a letter changes its place in a word : this transposition is called *metathesis*. It occurs most frequently with **r**, which, if the initial consonant be a labial or dental, has a tendency to follow it immediately ; less frequently with **l**.

§ 145. **r** : **fimbriam** > ***frimbia** > **frange**, **torculum**

> *troclu > *treuil*, *berbece (see § 104) > *brebis*, **formaticum** > *fromage*, **temperare** > *tremper*, **tortiare** > *trousser*, *biberaticu > *breuvage*, **turbulare** > *troubler*.

Pour < *pro* has probably been influenced by *par*.

§ 146. 1: **anhelam** > *alena > *haleine*, **corylarium** > *colrariu > *coldrier* > *coudrier*, **singultum** > *sanglot*, **scandalum** > *esclandre*.

§ 147. The group **cs** (x) often undergoes metathesis : **laxare** > **lascare* > *lascher* > *lâcher*, **taxare** > *tâcher*, **vixi** > *vesci*, **vescui** > *vécus*.

The group **sc**, when followed by final **o**, **u**, is generally considered to have undergone metathesis to **cs**, which then becomes **is** (cf. § 117) : **boscum** > *bois*, **franciscum** > *françois*, **nasco** > *nais*, **pasco** > *pais*, **friscum** > *frais*.

INFLECTION

CHAPTER I

DECLENSION OF NOUNS

§ 148. THE Classical Latin system of declension became greatly simplified in Vulgar Latin or Gallo-Roman.

1. The neuter gender is lost. Neuter nouns generally become masculine and follow the masculine declension, e.g. **castellum** becomes **castellus**, pl. **castelli**. Some neuter plurals, ending like feminine singulars of the 1st declension in **a**, have been treated as feminine singulars, e.g. **folia**, taking a new acc. pl. **folias**.

The neuter remains in some adjectives : *moins* < **minus**, *pis* < **pejus**, *mieux* < **melius**.

2. The declensions are reduced to three ; nouns of the 4th Latin declension go over to the 2nd, and nouns of the 5th Latin declension go over to the 1st (***facia**, ***glacia**) or to the 3rd (**fides**, **res**).

3. Of the Latin cases, the genitive, dative, vocative, and ablative are lost. This loss is due, partly to the confusion of the endings caused by phonetic changes in Vulgar Latin (e.g. **um** with **o**, **am** with **a**), partly to the tendency of the language to replace inflections by periphrases (the genitive by **de** with the accusative, the dative by **ad** with the accusative, and so on).

Thus masculine (and originally neuter) nouns retained

only the nominative and accusative in singular and plural. Feminine nouns retained only the accusative form, the nominative being in some cases already the same as the accusative (**filia** and **filia(m)**, **fines**, nom., and **fines**, acc.), in other cases taking the accusative form by analogy.

NOTE.—A few traces of some other cases still remain :

Of the Genitive sing. in names of days of the week : *lundi* < lunae diem ; Gen. pl. in *chandeleur* < (festa) *candelorum.

Of the Ablative in place-names (*Aix* < **Aquis**, *Reims* < **Remis**), in the adverbial ending -ment (< mente), and in some adverbs (*or* < **hac hora**).

One fem. noun, **soror**, retains the nom. as well as the acc., see § 150.

4. Masculine nouns of the 3rd declension lost the s of the nom. plur., and appear to have taken the ending -i on the analogy of the 2nd declension.

5. Certain nouns of the 3rd declension were ‘imparisyllabic,’ i. e. had a syllable less in the nom. sing. than in the other cases. In Vulgar Latin all imparisyllabic nouns denoting things, and some denoting persons, became parasyllabic, a new nominative being formed from the accusative. Thus **mons**, **montem**, became **montis**, **montem**; **leo**, **leonem**, became **leonis**, **leonem**; **hospes**, **hospitem**, became **hospitis**, **hospitem**.

§ 149. The *masculine* substantives in O.F. fall into three classes :

i. With *nom. sing.* in -s (from Latin substantives of the 2nd declension in -us, and of the 3rd declension in -is, -es, including the new parasyllabics) :

| Sg. | | Pl. | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| N. murus | > O.F. <i>murs</i> † | N. muri | > O.F. <i>mur</i> † |
| A. murum | > „ <i>mur</i> | A. muros | > „ <i>murs</i> |
| N. panis | > „ <i>pains</i> † | N. *pani | > „ <i>pain</i> † |
| A. panem | > „ <i>pain</i> | A. panes | > „ <i>pains</i> |

2. With *nom. sing.* in *-e* (from Latin substantives of 2nd and 3rd declension in *-er*):

| Sg. | | Pl. | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| N. liber | > O.F. <i>livre</i> † | N. libri | > O.F. <i>livre</i> † |
| A. librum | > „ <i>livre</i> | A. libros | > „ <i>livres</i> |
| N. pater | > „ <i>pere</i> † | N. *patri | > „ <i>pere</i> † |
| A. patrem | > „ <i>pere</i> | A. patres | > „ <i>peres</i> |

3. *Imparisiyllabiz* of Latin 3rd declension.

| Sg. | | Pl. | |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| N. latro | > O.F. <i>lere</i> † | N. *latroni | > O.F. <i>larron</i> † |
| A. latronem | > „ <i>larron</i> | A. latrones | > „ <i>larrons</i> |
| N. homo | > „ <i>on</i> | N. *homini | > „ <i>(h)ome</i> † |
| A. hominem | > „ <i>(h)ome</i> | A. homines | > „ <i>(h)omes</i> |

Here also *presbyter* of 2nd declension (*présbyter* > *prêtre*, *presbýterum* > *prevoire* †).

§ 150. The *feminine* substantives also fall into three classes:

1. *Sing. in -e* (Latin of first declension, and of 3rd declension in *-er*):

| Sg. | | Pl. | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| N. A. causam | > O.F. <i>chose</i> | N. A. causas | > O.F. <i>choses</i> |
| N. A. matrem | > „ <i>mere</i> | N. A. matres | > „ <i>meres</i> |

2. Without *e* (Lat. of 3rd declension not ending in *-er*):

| Sg. | | Pl. | |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| N. A. finem | > O.F. <i>fin</i> | N. A. fines | > O.F. <i>fins</i> |

3. *Imparisiyllabic*, only one substantive :

| Sg. | |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| N. soror | > O.F. <i>suer</i> > <i>sœur</i> |
| A. sororem | > „ <i>serour</i> † |

Pl.

N. A. sorores > O.F. *serours* †.

§ 151. From the 12th century the masculine declension 2. is often made like 1. by attaching an *s* to the nom. sing., hence *N. livres, A. livre*; *N. peres, A. pere*, &c. This analogical *s* is frequently added also to the nominative of the impari-syllabic masculines, and even to the nominative of the 2nd declension of feminines. But between the 12th and 14th centuries there is an increasing tendency to use the accusative form for both cases, till finally in the 14th century the nominative case-form is completely lost, except in a few names of persons which were of frequent use in the nominative (or vocative), and have retained the nominative form instead of or as well as the accusative; e. g. *fils* < *filius*, *prêtre* < *presbyter*, *sœur* < *soror*, *traître* < *traditor*, *on* < *homo* (besides *homme* < *hominem*), *sire* < **seior* (besides *sieur* < **seiorem*), &c. In all other nouns, except these few names of persons, the accusative form henceforth alone survives, and does duty for both nominative and objective cases.

CHAPTER II

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

§ 152. I. THOSE which had in Latin a different form for masculine and feminine :

1. Nom. sing. in *s*, corresponding to 1st masculine and 1st feminine declensions of substantives :

| Masculine. | | Feminine. | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Sg. N. bonus | > <i>bons</i> † | } | Sg. N. A. bonam | > <i>bonne</i> |
| A. bonum | > <i>bon</i> | | | |
| Pl. N. boni | > <i>bon</i> † | } | Pl. N. A. bonas | > <i>bonnes</i> |
| A. bonos | > <i>bons</i> | | | |

2. Nom. sing. in *e* (2nd masc. and 1st fem. declension) :

| Masculine. | | Feminine. | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Sg. N. tener | > <i>tendre</i> † | } | Sg. N. A. teneram | > <i>tendre</i> |
| A. tenerum | > <i>tendre</i> | | | |
| Pl. N. teneri | > <i>tendre</i> † | } | Pl. N. A. teneras | > <i>tendres</i> |
| A. teneros | > <i>tendres</i> | | | |

In this type, as in the masculine substantives, an *s* was added to the nom. sing. masc. from the 12th century.

II. Adjectives which had the same form for feminine and masculine in Latin (corresponding to 1st masculine and 2nd feminine declensions of substantives) :

| Masculine. | | Feminine. | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Sg. N. fortis | > <i>forz</i> † | } | Sg. N. A. fortem | > <i>fort</i> |
| A. fortem | > <i>fort</i> | | | |
| Pl. N. * forti | > <i>fort</i> † | } | Pl. N. A. fortes | > <i>forz</i> |
| A. fortes | > <i>forz</i> | | | |

From the 12th century, adjectives of this type become assimilated to the first and take *e* in the feminine; relics of the old feminine without *e* survive in *grand'mère*, *grand'route* (incorrectly now written with an apostrophe), *lettres royaux*, &c.; in place-names: *Rochefort*, *Gran(d)ville*, &c.; and in adverbs from adjectives ending in *-ant*: *méchamment*, &c., although *-ment* < *mente* is feminine.

III. Imparisyllabic (comparatives):

melior > *mieudre* †

meliorem > *meilleur*, &c.

Like the substantive, the adjective loses its nominative case by the 14th century.

NOTE.—The only inflection for case or number being *-s*, it results that nouns whose stem ended in *-s* (*x*, *z*) were indeclinable, e.g. *mois*, *paix*, *doux*, *faux*.

CHAPTER III

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS

§ 153. PRONOUNS, like nouns, have lost the neuter form (except *œ*, O.F. *eo* < *ecce-hoc*, and O.F. *el* < **illum* = *illud*).

Not only the nominative and accusative forms remain, as in nouns, but frequently also the dative singular. The genitive plural remains in *leur* < *illorum*.

§ 154. Some of the Latin pronouns have been completely lost, e. g. *is*, *ipse* (except in the derivative *même*, and some traces in O.F.), *hic* (except in *œ* and *oui* < *hoc*, *ille*). Sometimes compounds were formed, which either drove out the simple form (e.g. *ecciste* supplanted *iste*, except for a few traces in O.F.) or existed side by side with it (e.g. *eccille* and *ille*).

§ 155. In many cases the same pronoun has given two forms in French, according as it had a stress in the sentence or not ; cf. § 65. In the unaccented forms a curious phenomenon is to be found in one or two cases, namely a shifting of the accent to the post-tonic syllable, in consequence of which that syllable remains, while the syllable originally tonic is lost ; see §§ 157, 161. Compare the vulgar pronunciation of the present day, *c'te maison* for *cette maison*.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

§ 156. The demonstratives have been in part remodelled on the analogy of the relative. Thus their nom. sing., from *ille*, *iste*, became in Vulg. Lat. *illi*, *isti*, the same as the nom.

plur., on the analogy of *qui*; and new datives *istui*, *illui*, on the analogy of *cui*. The dat. sing. fem. in Vulg. Lat. is *illei*, *istei*, apparently a combination of **illae* + *ei* (dat. of *is*), **istae* + *ei*.

§ 157. Ille.

Ille has given, on the one hand, when unaccented, the article, with loss of the accented syllable (§ 155); on the other, when accented, the personal pronoun of the 3rd person.

Article.

| Masc. | Fem. |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Sg. N. *illi > O.F. <i>li</i> † | { Sg. N. A. <i>illam</i> > <i>la</i> |
| A. <i>illum</i> > „ <i>lo</i> > <i>le</i> | |
| Pl. N. <i>illi</i> > „ <i>li</i> † | { Pl. N. A. <i>illas</i> > <i>les</i> |
| A. <i>illos</i> > „ <i>les</i> | |

Personal pronoun of 3rd pers.

| | O.F. accented. | O.F. unaccented. |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Masc. Sg. N. *illi | <i>il</i> | — |
| A. <i>illum</i> | — | <i>lo</i> > <i>le</i> |
| D. { <i>illi</i> | — | <i>li</i> † |
| * <i>illui</i> | <i>lui</i> | — |
| „ Pl. N. <i>illi</i> | <i>il</i> | — |
| G. <i>illorum</i> | <i>leur</i> | — |
| A. <i>illos</i> | <i>els</i> > <i>eus</i> | <i>les</i> |
| Fem. Sg. N.A. <i>illam</i> | <i>elle</i> | <i>la</i> |
| D. { <i>illi</i> | — | <i>li</i> † |
| * <i>illei</i> | (* <i>liei</i>) <i>li</i> † | — |
| „ Pl. N. A. <i>illas</i> | <i>elles</i> | <i>les</i> |

The *i* in *il* from a Latin *i* is due to the influence of *i* in the termination, cf. § 24. The loss of the initial vowel in the tonic forms *leur*, *lui*, *li* (f.), is due to the influence of the

unaccented forms. The nom. plur. *il* has now taken an *s* on the analogy of *elles* and of the noun-declension.

§ 158. ecce + ille.

| | Masc. | O.F. | Fem.. | O.F. |
|--------|--------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| Sg. N. | *eccilli > (i)cil † | | Sg. N.A. eccillam > (i)celle | |
| A. | eccillum > (i)cel † | | | |
| D. | *eccillui > (i)celui | | ,, D. *eccillei > (i)celi † | |
| Pl. N. | eccilli > (i)cil † | | Pl. N.A. eccillas > (i)celles | |
| A. | eccilos > (i)cels > ceux | | | |

The development of *ec-* to *i-* is still unexplained. The abbreviated forms without *i* are already the more common in O.F., though the forms with *i* are found as late as the 16th century.

§ 159. ecce + iste.

| | Masc. | O.F. | Fem. | O.F. |
|--------|------------------------------|------|--|------|
| Sg. N. | *eccisti > (i)cist † | | Sg. N. A. eccistam > (i)reste > cette. | |
| A. | eccistum > (i)cest > cet, ce | | | |
| D. | *eccistui > (i)cestui † | | D. *eccistei > (i)cesti † | |
| Pl. N. | eccisti > (i)cist † | | Pl. N. A. eccistas > (i)cestes † | |
| A. | eccistos > (i)cez > ces | | | |

The fem. plur. *cestes* has been replaced by the masc. *ces*. *i* in *cist* is due, as in *il* and *cil*, to final *ī*.

Personal Pronouns.

§ 160. **Ego.** The Vulgar Latin form was *eo*; the accent shifted to the *o*: *eō*; then the *e* was consonified, hence O.F. *jo*, which since the 12th century is weakened to *je* (cf. *lo* > *le*).

Tu > Fr. *tu*.

Me, te, se, give double forms : *me, te, se*, unaccented, and *moi, toi, soi*, accented (§ 65).

Mihi, tibi, Vulgar Latin *mi, ti*, gave *mi, ti*, which survived only in dialects (Pic., Wall., Lorr.).

Nos, vos. Only the unaccented forms *nous*, *vous*, have survived.

Possessive Pronouns.

• § 161. Here again certain parts have given two forms, accented and unaccented. As in the article, the unaccented forms had shifted the accent to the final syllable, which remains, whilst the first is lost.

| | O.F. unacc. | O.F. acc. |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Masc. Sg. N. m(e)us > *mos | > mes † | — |
| A. m(e)um > *mom | > mon | méum > mien |
| Pl. N. m(e)i | > mi † | — |
| m(e)os | > mes | — |
| Fem. Sg. N.A. m(e)am | > ma | méam > moie † |
| Pl. N.A. m(e)as | > mes | méas > moies † |

Unaccented.—Similarly t(u)us > *tos > tes, s(u)us > *sos > ses, &c. *m'*=ma, before a word beginning with a vowel, is replaced by *mon* since the 14th century ; cf. *ma mie=m'amie*.

Accented.—The other parts were formed from *mien* on the analogy of the adjective declension ; thus it was declined *miens*, *mien*, *mien*, *miens* ; and a new feminine *mienne* supplanted the older *moie*. In the 2nd and 3rd persons *tuum*, *suum*, gave O.F. *tuen*, *suen*, which have become *tien*, *sien*, on the analogy of *mien* ; and *tuam*, *suam*, gave O.F. *toue*, *soue*, now replaced by *tienne*, *sienne*.

| Masc. | Fem. |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Sg. N. noster > <i>nostret</i> † | Sg. N. A. <i>nōstram</i> > <i>nostre</i> |
| A. nostrum > <i>nostre</i> | |
| Pl. N. nostri > <i>nostret</i> † | Pl. N. A. <i>nostras</i> > <i>nostres</i> |
| A. <i>nostros</i> > <i>nostres</i> | |

Vester became in Vulgar Latin **voster**, hence Fr. *vostre* > *votre*, &c. **Nostros**, **vostros**, unaccented, gave shortened forms *noz*, *voz* > *nos*, *vos*.

Relative Pronouns.

§ 162. In Vulgar Latin the masculine forms were extended to the feminine, and the feminine forms were lost.

| | |
|------|--------------|
| qui | <i>qui</i> |
| cui | <i>cui</i> † |
| quem | <i>que</i> |

The original dative *cui*, used in O.F. after prepositions, was confounded with *qui* and lost.

The neuter **quid** gives double forms, *que* unaccented, *quo* accented.

CHAPTER IV

THE VERB

§ 163. LIKE the declension, the Class. Lat. conjugation was much simplified in Vulgar Latin. The passive inflection (except the passive participle) and the deponent form were lost; and in the active voice only the following tenses remain: indicative present, imperfect, and perfect, subjunctive present and pluperfect (the latter taking the functions of an imperfect), present infinitive, 2nd sing. imperative, past and present participles, and gerund. The inflected passive is replaced by periphrases formed of the past participle and **essere*, the perfect tenses by periphrases formed of the past part. and *habere* or **essere*. Deponents become active in form, *mori* > **morire*, &c. A new tense, the conditional, is formed, and a new future, see § 182.

Conjugations.

§ 164. The customary division of French verbs into 'regular' and 'irregular' rests on no etymological basis. A more scientific division is into 'strong' and 'weak.' Those parts of a verb which are accented on the stem (e. g. *aime*) are called *strong*; those accented on the termination (e. g. *aimons*) weak; and the verb is said to be of strong or weak conjugation according as its *preterite* (1st and 3rd sing.) is strong or weak.

§ 165. The *weak* conjugations are:

i. Infin. *-er* (-*are*), pret. *-ai* (-*avi*), Latin 1st conjugation.

2. Infin. *-ir* (-*ire*), pret. *-is* (-*ivi*), Latin 4th conjugation. In a certain number of verbs of this class (the so-called '2nd regular conjugation') the pres. and imperf. indic., pres. subj., and pres. part. come from corresponding *inchoative* forms which supplanted the simple forms: *finis* < *finisco*, not *finio*; *finissant* < *finiscentem*, not *finientem*, &c. The other verbs of this class (*partir*, *sentir*, &c.) come from the ordinary Latin forms.

3. Infin. *-re*, pret. *-is*, V. L. perf. *-edi* (see § 177 (3)), including the so-called '4th regular conjugation' verbs in *-ndre*, &c.

The remaining verbs are *strong*, having stem-accented preterites—see § 178. It is to be remembered, however, that many verbs changed their conjugation in Vulgar Latin or on passing into French.

INFINITIVE.

§ 166. The weak terminations are:

1. *-are* > *-er*: *amare* > *aimer*.
2. *-ere* > *-oir*: *habere* > *avoir*.
3. *-ire* > *ir*: *partire* > *partir*.

Strong: *-ere*: *facere* > *faire*; *dicere* > *dire*; *mittere* > *mettre*, &c. But cf. § 5.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE AND GERUND.

§ 167. Of the various Latin endings *-antem*, *-entem*, *-ientem*, only *-antem* persists, giving *-ant*, which is extended to all French verbs. In the use of forms in *-ant* with the preposition *en*, their origin is to be sought, not in the present participle, but in the gerund: *en aimant*=*in amando*.

NOTE.—A few pres. part. kept their *yod*; e.g. *sachant* < *sapientem*, *oyant* < *audientem*, &c.

PAST PARTICIPLE.

§ 168. *Weak*: (1) -atum > é: *amatum* > *aimé* ;
 (2) -itum > i: *finitum* > *fini* ;
 (3) -utum > u: **habutum* > *eu*.

This last ending -utum, belonging in Classical Latin only to a small number of verbs which had a present in -uo (*imbuo*, *constituo*, &c.), was generally extended in Vulgar Latin to all such as had -ui in the perfect, e. g. **habutum* > *eu*, **saputum* > *su*, **reciputum* > *reçu*, &c.

§ 169. *Strong*: *factum* > *fait*, *dictum* > *dit*, *mort(u)um* > *mort*, *scriptum* > *écrit*, &c. Many have taken analogical weak forms, the strong sometimes surviving as substantives: *route* < *rupta*, *course* < *cursa*, *vente* < *vendita*, side by side with the neologisms *rompu*, *couru*, *vendu*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

§ 170. *Stem-vowel*.—The three persons of the singular and the 3rd plural were accented on the root-syllable. The 1st and 2nd plural were accented on the inflection in the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Latin conjugations; and in Vulgar Latin the accent in the 3rd conjugation likewise was shifted to the inflection in those parts. Thus arose a difference in the stem-vowel according as it was accented or unaccented. We still have *veux...voulons*, *meurs...mourons* (§ 26), *viens...venons* (§ 22), *dois...devons* (§ 23), *sais...savons* (§ 40), *acquiers...acquérons*. In O.F. such alternations were much more numerous, e. g. *aime...amons* (§ 35), *achieve...achevons*, *treuve...trouvons*, *poise...pesons*; they have been obliterated by the action of analogy, one uniform vowel (generally that of the plural, as in *trouver*, sometimes that of the singular, as *aimer*) being carried through all the forms.

§ 171. Personal endings.

1st sing.—Final *-o* should fall in all cases (*amo* > O.F. *aim*), but the 1st conjugation has taken *e* on the analogy of those verbs which had a supporting vowel, e.g. *j'entre*, *je semble*. In all conjugations but the 1st, either the stem regularly ended in *s* (*finisco* > *finis*, *poteo* > *puis*), or an *s* has been added by analogy (*vendo*, O.F. *vend*, now *vends*).—Those 1st persons which had a *yod* generally lost it in Vulgar Latin on the analogy of the other forms, hence **parto*, **sento*, &c.; but a few kept it: **poteo* > *puis*, *habeo* > *ai*, &c. *Sui(s)* < *sum* is due to the anal. of O.F. *fui* < *fui*.

2nd sing.—*-as* in 1st conj. > *-es* (*amas* > *aimes*), in the others the final vowel regularly drops (*vides* > *vois*, &c.).

3rd sing.—*-at* gave *-et* in O.F., the *t* afterwards dropping (§ 131); in the other conjugations *t* became supported by the loss of the final vowel, and remains (§ 131).

1st plur.—The Latin accented endings are *-amus*, *-ēmus*, *īmus*, which would give respectively **-ains*, **-eins*, **-ins*; all these have been replaced by *-ons*, borrowed from *sons* < *sumus*. *-ons* has become the universal ending of the 1st plur., except in the preterite.

2nd plur.—The Latin accented endings *-atis*, *-ētis*, *-ītis*, would give respectively *-ez*, *-oiz*, **-iz*; of these *-ez* has become the regular termination of all 2nd plurals (except in the preterite).

NOTE.—Two verbs kept the proparoxyton form in 1st and 2nd pl.: *facimus* > O.F. *faines*; *dicimus* > O.F. *dimes*; *facitis* > *faites*, *dicitis* > *dites*. *Sommes* apparently owes its *e* to the analogy of O.F. *esmes* < V. L. *esmus* formed on analogy from *estis*, where *e* is a ‘supporting vowel’; and *êtes* to the analogy of *sommes*.

3rd plur.—*-ant*, *-ent*, *-unt*, all give *-ent* (§ 55 (3)).

NOTE.—Four verbs have *-ont*: *sunt* > *sont*, *vadunt* > *vont*, **habunt* > *ont*, **facunt* > *font*; in the last three the medial consonant dropped, and the vowels combined into a diphthong, cf. § 33.

§ 172. The O.F. types are thus :

| | | |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>aim</i> | <i>finis</i> | <i>voi</i> |
| <i>aimes</i> | <i>finis</i> | <i>vois</i> |
| <i>aimet</i> | <i>finist</i> | <i>voit</i> |
| <i>amons</i> | <i>finissons</i> | <i>veons</i> |
| <i>amez</i> | <i>finissez</i> | <i>veez (-oiz)</i> |
| <i>aiment</i> | <i>finissent</i> | <i>voient</i> |

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

§ 173. In O.F. the endings are :

| Sg. | Pl. |
|--------------|---------------|
| <i>-oie</i> | <i>-iens</i> |
| <i>-oies</i> | <i>-iez</i> |
| <i>-oit</i> | <i>-oient</i> |

§ 174. The Latin terminations were :

-abam, found as *-eve* in the Eastern dialects (Burg., Pic., Wall.), as *-oe* in Norm.

-e(b)am > *oie*.

***-ibam** (= *-iebam*), found as *-ive* in Wall., Lorr.

The termination *-oie* of the 2nd conjugation replaced in O.F. all the others. The Class. **-ébam** had become **-éam** by dissimilation in such verbs as had a stem ending in a labial (**habébam** > **habéam**), and this form was extended by analogy to the other verbs.

§ 175. **-eat** should give *-oiet*, but *-oit* is found almost from the earliest texts. Later (on analogy of *-oit*) the 1st and 2nd persons also lose their *e*: and the 1st takes an *s* on the analogy of such forms as O.F. *je conois* < *cognosco*; thus the sing. forms became *-ois*, *-ois*, *-oit*. In the 3rd plur., *-oient*, the *n* early became mute, and later the *e*. For the change in the pronunciation of the diphthong *-oi* which

makes us now write *-ais*, &c., see § 23. *-eamus*, *-eatis*, gave *-iens*, *-iez*; the *-ens* in 1st plur. is replaced, as usual, by *-ons*.

PRETERITE.

§ 176. Personal endings.—The following peculiarities are common to all preterites :

2nd sing.—Phonetically the endings should be *-ast* (*-asti*), *-ist* (*-isti*). The *t* has been dropped on the analogy of the 2nd sing. of all other tenses, which ends in *s*.

1st and 2nd plur.—These parts were all paroxyton in Vulgar Latin (see below), but have taken *e* (*-âmes*, *-âtes*) apparently on the analogy of the proparoxyton presents, O.F. *faimes*, O.F. *dimes*, *faitez*, *dites* (§ 171).

Moreover, in all but the 1st conj., the 1st sing., if it did not end in *s* regularly, has now taken an *s* by analogy, and the 3rd sing. retains the final *t*.

§ 177. *Weak Preterites* :

1. *-avi*. Three parts were contracted in Classical Latin : *-avisti* > *-asti*, *-avistis* > *-astis*, *-averunt* > *-arunt*. The other three were also similarly contracted in Vulgar Latin ; thus

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>cantai</i> | > O.F. <i>chantai</i> (cf. § 32) |
| <i>cantasti</i> | > „ <i>chantas</i> |
| <i>cantat</i> | > „ <i>chantat</i> > <i>chanta</i> |
| <i>cantamus</i> | > „ <i>chantames</i> |
| <i>cantastis</i> | > „ <i>chantastes</i> > <i>chantâtes</i> |
| <i>cantarunt</i> | > „ <i>chanterent</i> |

2. *-ivi*. Similar contractions take place ; hence the O.F. terminations *-i* (now *-is*), *-is*, *-it*, *-imes*, *-istes*, *-irent*.

3. *-edi*. In Classical Latin, compounds of *do* had pret. in *-didi* (*perdidi*) ; in Vulgar Latin they were re-made (§ 12) and became *perdédi*, &c., after the simple *dedi*.

The *-edi* came to be regarded as the termination, and was added to other verbs than compounds of *do*, e. g. **respondedi*:

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| * <i>perdedi</i> | > * <i>perdei</i> (dissim.) | > * <i>perdiei</i> > O.F. <i>perdi</i> |
| <i>perdedisti</i> | | „ <i>perdis</i> |
| <i>perdedit</i> | | „ <i>perdiet</i> |
| <i>perdedimus</i> | | „ <i>perdimes</i> |
| <i>perdedistis</i> | | „ <i>perdistes</i> |
| <i>perdederunt</i> | | „ <i>perdierent</i> |

This type has now been remodelled on *finis*, which it already resembled in 1st and 2nd sing. and plur.

§ 178. Strong Preterites:

In Vulgar Latin the accent of the 1st plur. shifts to the termination, and that of the 3rd plur. to the stem; thus three persons are strong, 1st sing., 3rd sing., 3rd plur., *díxi*, *díxit*, *díixerunt*, and three weak, 2nd sing., 1st plur., 2nd plur., *dixísti*, *dixímus*, *dixístis*. This difference of accent gave in O.F. differences of form which have since been levelled out, sometimes the strong form prevailing, sometimes the weak.

I. -ui.

Where the medial consonant was a labial or palatal, it was lost (§ 89) and the vowels thus brought into contact combined:

Stem-vowel a : *hábui* (**aui*) > O.F. *oi*.

| | | |
|------------------|----|---|
| <i>habúisti</i> | ,, | <i>oüüs</i> > <i>eüüs</i> > <i>eus</i> |
| <i>hábuit</i> | ,, | <i>out</i> |
| <i>habúimus</i> | ,, | <i>oüümës</i> > <i>eüümës</i> > <i>eümës</i> |
| <i>habúistis</i> | ,, | <i>oüëstës</i> > <i>eüëstës</i> > <i>eëstës</i> |
| <i>hábuerunt</i> | ,, | <i>ourent</i> |

The strong forms *oi*, *out*, *ourent*, are replaced by analogical

forms *eus*, *eut*, *eurent*. Similarly **placui** > *ploï*, **tacui** > *toi*, **sapui** > *soi*, &c.

Vowel e, i, o : **débui** (**deui*) > O.F. *dui*
debúisti > „, *deüs* > *dus*, &c.

Similarly **bibui**, **nocui**, &c.

Where the medial consonant is a liquid it remains, and the accent was on the u throughout :

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| valúi | <i>valui</i> | (<i>valus</i> by anal.) |
| valúisti | <i>valus</i> | &c. |

2. -si.

***prési** (Cl. *prehendi*) > O.F. *pris* (§ 24)

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| presísti | „ | <i>presis</i> |
| présit | „ | <i>prist</i> (<i>i</i> by anal. 1st sing.) |
| presímus | „ | <i>presimes</i> |
| presístis | „ | <i>presistes</i> |
| préserunt | „ | <i>prisdrent</i> (<i>i</i> by anal. 1st sing.) |

Presis, *presimes*, *presistes*, are replaced by analogical strong forms *pris*, *prîmes*, *prîtes*, and *prisdrent* by *prinent*, on the analogy of *finirent*. In other cases it is the strong forms which are replaced by analogical weak ones, as in *duxi* > *duis*, *duxisti* > *duisis*, now *je duisis*, &c.

3. -i.

This class only includes three verbs—*vidi*, *veni*, **teni* (Class. *tenui* remodelled on *veni*):

vidi > *vi*
vidisti > *veïs* > *vis* (§ 60 (2)), &c.

All the modern forms are regular.

veni > *vin* (cf. § 24)
venisti > *venis*, &c.

Here the weak forms *venis*, *venimes*, *venistes*, have been replaced by analogical strong forms *vins*, *vîmes*, *vîntes*.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| § 179. cantem O.F. <i>chant</i> | cantemus O.F. <i>chantiens</i> |
| cantes „ <i>chanz</i> | cantetis „ <i>chanteiz</i> |
| cantet „ <i>chant</i> | cantent „ <i>chantent</i> |

The sing. in the 1st conj. has taken *e* (*chante*, &c.) on the analogy of forms with supporting vowel (e. g. *entre*), and also of the other conjugations where Latin had *a* (-eam, -am, -iam).

-*iens* is the regular development of -eamus, -iamus (2nd and 4th conj.) extended by analogy to other conjugations. As usual, -*ens* is now replaced by -*ons*.

-*eiz*, regular from *ētis*, but early replaced by -*iez* < -*iatis*.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

§ 180. -assem, -issem (contracted from -avissem, -ivissem), give -asse, isse, and so on. The 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. are regular. The final vowel should have dropped in 1st and 2nd sing. (§ 54), but has persisted, probably on the analogy of the present subj. On the same analogy, the original endings of 1st and 2nd plur., -*ons*, -*eiz*, have become -*ions*, -*iez*.

IMPERATIVE.

§ 181. canta > *chante*, finisce > *finis*, vide > *voi*. The *s* of *finis* and of the 2nd sing. pres. indic. has been extended to all imperatives except the 1st conj. The plural imperative has been replaced by the indicative. In a few verbs the imperative form has been replaced by the subjunctive (*sache*, *aie*, *sois*, *veuille*).

FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.

§ 182. The Latin future, by the decay of endings, became liable to confusion with other tenses (e. g. **cantabo** with **cantavi**, **regam**, fut., with **regam**, subj.). At the same time

there was a tendency towards the use of an analytic form. Hence already in Vulgar Latin arise circumlocutions, infin. + **volo**, infin. + **ire**, &c.; the commonest was infin. + **habere**, which has been retained in French and Provençal. In Provençal the two parts remained separable, but in French they form one word from the oldest texts ('Oaths,' *salvarai*). The future is thus a compound of the infinitive and the present of *avoir*, and the conditional a compound of the infinitive and the imperfect of *avoir*. The forms are thus *chanterai*, *chanteras*, *chantera*, *chanteront*; in *avons*, *avez*, and the imperfect throughout, the syllable *-av-* has been lost, thus *chanterons*, *chanterais*, for *chanteravons*, *chanteravais*.

§ 183. In these combinations the accent ceased to be on the infinitive termination; the chief accent was on the syllables *ai*, &c., and therefore a secondary accent fell on the first syllable of the compound (*càntar(e)-hábeo*, &c.), so that the vowel of the infinitive termination became the counter-final. It should therefore remain as *e* in the 1st conj. (Latin *-ar-*) and drop in the others; hence *chanterai*, *devrai*, *vendrai*, are regular. But in the 2nd conj. the *i* remains under the influence of the infinitive form, hence *finirai* instead of *findrai* (§ 68).

NOTE.—*viendrai*, *tiendrai*, owe their *ie* to analogy of pres. indic. sing.; for the *d* in these, in *voudrai*, &c., cf. § 114. For *aurai*, *saurai*, cf. § 108 (3).

IRREGULAR VERBS.

§ 184. *Aller*.—The conjugation is made up from three different verbs :

1. **vado**, V. L. ***vao**, which gives the strong parts of the pres. indic.
2. **ire**, which with **habeo** gives the future and conditional.

3. The O.F. verb *aler*, Prov. *anar*, whose origin is disputed, but which perhaps comes from *adnare*.

NOTE.—For the change of meaning in *adnare* cf. *adripare* > *arriver*, orig. ‘to come to the shore’; for the change *n* > *l* cf. (*mate*)-*lot* < *nauta*.

§ 185. *Être*.—The Latin verb had already two roots :

1. *es*, found in *être* < **essere*, the pres. indic., and pres. subj. (O.F. *soie*, *soies*, *soit* < **siam*, **sias*, *sit*).
2. *fu*, in the pret. and imperf. subj.

The French verb has besides borrowed certain parts from the verb *stare* : *étant* < *stantem*, *été* < *statum*.

The imperf. (O.F. *estoit*) appears to be formed directly from the infinitive ; and the future from *essere* + *habeo* with loss of the initial *e*, perhaps through analogy of the forms beginning with *s*: *sum*, *sunt*, &c. O.F. had also the forms *iere* (*ere*), &c. < *eram*, &c., *ier* (*er*) < *ero*, &c., and *estrai* < *essere* + *habeo*.

§ 186. *Avoir*.—The loss of **b** in certain parts where followed by *yod* is singular : *ayant* (**habyentem*), *ai*, and the pres. subj. It falls regularly (§ 89) in **habunt* > *ont*, **habutum* > *eu*, and the pret. indic. and imperf. subj.

CHAPTER V

ADVERBS

§ 187. THE adverbial termination *-ment* comes from *mente*, the ablative of *mens*, and consequently is regularly joined to the feminine form of the adjective. Where the feminine *e* however was preceded by a vowel, it was dropped in the 14th century : O.F. *joliement* > *joliment*, *aveuglément* > *aveuglement* (cf. § 67). In *méchamment*, *prudemment*, &c., we have not a masculine form, but an old feminine ; cf. § 152, II.

§ 188. Many adverbs ended regularly in *s* : *dans* < *de-intus*, *hors* < *foris*, *mais* < *magis*, *assez* < *adsatis*, *sous* < *subtus*, *sus* < *su(r)sum*, *ailleurs* < *aliorsum* ; others have taken an *s* (often called ‘the adverbial *s*’) by analogy : *jadis* < *jam-diu*, *sans* < *sine*.

§ 189. Some adverbs (and prepositions) are found with a double form in O.F., with or without a final *e*. Sometimes the form with *e* is regular : *unquam* > *onque*, *hac hora* > *ore*, *super* > *sure*, beside the forms *onc*, *or*, *sur* ; sometimes the form without *e* is regular : *dumque* > *donc* (O.F. also *donque*), *apud-hoc* > *avec* (O.F. also *avecque*). *Chez* < *casa* is always found in the shorter form.

§ 190. Many French adverbs are formed by compounding various particles : *sub-inde* > *souvent*, *ad-retro* > *arrière*, *abante* > *avant* ; *désormais* = *dès* (< *de-ex*) + *or* + *mais*. Others are abbreviated phrases : *oui* < *hoc-ille*, *naguère* = *il n'y a guère* (i. e. *beaucoup*, < Germ. *weigaro*) *de temps*.

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